

THE ANNUAL
OF THE
BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS

No. XVII.

SESSION 1910—1911.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

		PAGE
G. A. MACMILLAN.	A Short History of the British School at Athens, 1886-1911	ix
J. ff. BAKER-PENOVRE.	A Bibliography of the Work of Students of the School, 1886-1911	xxxix
I. Excavations at Phylakopi in Melos, 1911. (Plates I.-XIV.)		
R. M. DAWKINS.	§ 1.—Introduction	1
" "	§ 2.—The Excavation	2
" "	§ 3.—Intramural Tombs of Infants	6
R. M. DAWKINS.	} § 4.—Melos and Crete	9
J. P. DROOP.		
" "	§ 5.—Melos and the Mainland	16
" "	§ 6.—Native Melian Fabrics	19
" "	§ 7.—Miscellaneous Finds	21
2. R. M. DAWKINS. }	Byzantine Pottery from Sparta. (Plates	
J. P. DROOP. }	XV.-XVIII.)	23
3. A. W. GOMME.	The Literary Evidence for the Topography of Thebes. (Plate XIX.)	29
4. L. B. TILLARD.	The Fortifications of Phokis	54
5. F. W. HASLUCK.	A Tholos Tomb at Kirk Kilisse. (Plate XX.) .	76
6. G. DICKINS.	Damophon of Messene.—III.	80
7. A. M. WOODWARD.	Some Notes on the Monument of Porphyrios at Constantinople	88
T. B. BURY	Note on the Metre of the Inscriptions in Popular Greek	92
8. W. R. HALLIDAY.	A Note on the <i>θῆλα νοῦσος</i> of the Skythians .	95

a 2

		PAGE
9. F. W. HASLUCK.	The First English Traveller's Account of Athos .	103
10. " "	Genoese Heraldry and Inscriptions at Amastra .	132
11. " "	Heraldry of the Rhodian Knights, formerly in Smyrna Castle	145
12. " "	Depopulation in the Aegean Islands and the Turkish Conquest	151
13. W. R. HALLIDAY.	Cenotaphs and Sacred Localities	182
14. A. J. B. WACE. M. S. THOMPSON. }	A Latin Inscription from Perrhaebia	193
15. A. M. WOODWARD.	Inscriptions from Western Pisidia	205
16. H. A. ORMEROD. E. S. G. ROBINSON. }	Notes and Inscriptions from Pamphylia	215
17. T. E. PEET.	Early Egyptian Influence in the Mediterranean .	250
18. D. G. HOGARTH.	Note on Two Zakro Sealings	264
19. W. LEAF.	The Topography of the Scamander Valley.—I. (Plate XXI.)	266

Annual Meeting of Subscribers	284
Festival Dinner	294
Income and Expenditure, 1910-1911	299
Donations and Subscriptions, 1910-1911	301
List of Subscribers	305
List of Directors, Honorary Students, Students, and Associates	311
Suggested Plan of Study	320
Rules and Regulations of the British School at Athens	321
Notice to Contributors	324
Index	331

LIST OF PLATES.

- I. Phylakopi. Plans of the Excavations shewing First, Second and Third City Walls.
- II. Phylakopi. Native Ware imitating Cretan L.M.I.
- III. Phylakopi. Native Ware imitating Cretan L.M.I.
- IV. Phylakopi. Burial Pithoi.
- V. Phylakopi. Burial Pithoi and Geometric Vases with Lustrous Paint.
- VI. Phylakopi. Geometric Vases, including those from Pithos Burials.
- VII. Phylakopi. Melian Red Burnished Ware with White Paint; Cretan Kamares Vase and Melian Imitation; Melian Burnished Ware imitating Minyan Shapes; Minyan Ware; Clay Crucibles.
- VIII. Phylakopi. Native Vases imitating Cretan L.M.I.
- IX. Phylakopi. Native Vase imitating Cretan L.M.I.
- X. Phylakopi. Various Styles of Later Local Vases.
- XI. Phylakopi. Imported Cretan L.M.II. Vases.
- XII. Phylakopi. Latest Mycenaean Vases.
- XIII. Phylakopi. Native Style (Pre-Mycenaean) Vases with Curvilinear Designs in Matt Black.
- XIV. Phylakopi. Miscellaneous Sherds and Bronzes.
- XV. Byzantine Pottery from Sparta.
- XVI. Byzantine Pottery from Sparta.
- XVII. Byzantine Pottery from Sparta.
- XVIII. Byzantine Pottery from Sparta.
- XIX. The Topography of Thebes. A: According to Fabricius; B: According to Gomme.
- XX. Tholos Tomb at Kirk Kilisse. A: Plan. B: Section. C: Façade Elevation.
- XXI. Map of the Troad after Kiepert and Philippson, with Corrections by W. Leaf.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT.

	PAGE
THE EXCAVATIONS AT PHYLAKOPI IN MELOS :—	
Fig. 1. Sketch of Pithos Burial	8
Fig. 2. Imported Cretan Late Minoan II. Vases	15
BYZANTINE POTTERY FROM SPARTA :—	
Fig. 1. Shapes of Byzantine Pottery from Sparta	25
THE FORTIFICATIONS OF PHOKIS :—	
Fig. 1. Map of Phokis	55
Fig. 2. Bird's eye View of Tithorea	56
Fig. 3. Tithorea : Highest Point of the Wall on the 'Lower Peak'	57
Fig. 4. Charadra : Tower in the South Wall	61
Fig. 5. Patronis : The Tower on the Summit	65
Fig. 6. Patronis : Details of Construction of a Tower	66
Fig. 7. Plan of the Fortress of Aiolidai	67
Fig. 8. Lilaia : Plan of the highest Compartment of the Acropolis	70
Fig. 9. Tithorea : 'Look-out' Tower in the Wall of the 'Lower Peak'	71
Fig. 10. Tithorea : The 'First' Tower (from the Allure)	72
Fig. 11. Tithorea : Coping <i>in situ</i> on the Wall	74
A THOLOS TOMB AT KIRK KILISSE :—	
Fig. 1. Façade of Tholos Tomb at Kirk Kilisse	77
Fig. 2. Tholos Tomb at Kirk Kilisse from the East	78
DAMOPHON OF MESSENE.—III :—	
Fig. 1. Bronze Coin of Megalopolis. <i>Obv.</i> , Head of Julia Domna	81
Fig. 2. Restoration of the Great Group at Lycosura	81
Fig. 3. Existing Fragments of the Lycosura Group	82

DAMOPHON OF MESSENE.—III. (*continued*):—

	PAGE
Fig. 4. Torso of Demeter at Lycosura	83
Fig. 5. Right Arm of Demeter	85
Fig. 6. The Legs of Artemis	86

THE FIRST ENGLISH TRAVELLER'S ACCOUNT OF ATHOS:—

Fig. 1. Laura: 'the Fountain cover'd over with a Cupola' . . .	107
Fig. 2. Caracal: 'a Tower over the Door'	116
Fig. 3. Iberus: 'a large Tower by the Water-side'	118
Fig. 4. Pantocratora: 'stands on the Sea pretty well'	120
Fig. 5. Vatopedio: Devices on the Antiport	124
Fig. 6. Vatopedio: 'A <i>Campanarion</i> of lousy Stone'	125
Fig. 7. Gregoriou: Bell-tower (late XVIII. Century)	130

GENOESE HERALDRY AND INSCRIPTIONS AT AMASTRA:—

Fig. 1. Gate of Amastra	133
Fig. 2. Genoese Arms at Amastra	135
Fig. 3. Arms at Amastra	139
Fig. 4. Arms from Amastra (12)	140
Fig. 5. Genoese Inscription at Trebizond	141
Fig. 6. Arms at Haryb Kapu, Galata	142
Fig. 7. Genoese Inscription from Galata	143

HERALDRY OF THE RHODIAN KNIGHTS, FORMERLY IN SMYRNA CASTLE:—

Fig. 1. Sketch-plan of the Castle of St. Peter, Smyrna, and Environs	146
Fig. 2. Arms from the Castle of St. Peter, Smyrna (No. 1) . . .	147
Fig. 3. Arms from the Castle of St. Peter (No. 2)	148

DEPOPULATION IN THE AEGEAN ISLANDS AND THE TURKISH CONQUEST:—

Fig. 1. Levant Section of <i>Mappa Mundi</i> by Antonio di Millo (1582).	152
Fig. 2. Lupazzolo's Map of Santorini	153
Fig. 3. Lupazzolo's View of Smyrna (1638)	155

A LATIN INSCRIPTION FROM PERRHAEBIA:—

Fig. 1. Sketch-map of Northern Perrhaebia	200
---	-----

NOTES AND INSCRIPTIONS FROM PAMPHYLIA:—

Fig. 1. Sketch-map shewing Sites	216
Fig. 2. Tower with Inscriptions Nos. 8-10, at Bazar-Ghediyi-Örenlik .	219

NOTE ON TWO ZAKRO SEALINGS:—

	PAGE
Fig. 1. Clay Sealing from Zakro	264
Fig. 2. Clay Sealing of L.M.I. Period from Zakro	265

THE TOPOGRAPHY OF THE SCAMANDER VALLEY.—I. :—

Fig. 1A. The Range of Ida from the Site of Skepsis: View to East	268
Fig. 1B. <i>Ibid.</i> : View to South-East	268
Fig. 2. The Head of the Scamander Valley from the Camp near Kara Köi	269
Fig. 3. Hajji-öldüren (Kotylòs) from the North	270
Fig. 4. The Samonian Plain from Alexandria Troas	272

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS.

1886—1911.

I.

The School at Athens having been opened in November, 1886, has just completed the twenty-fifth year of its existence, and this seems an appropriate point from which to look back to its early beginnings and briefly to review its work.

THE FOUNDATION OF THE SCHOOL.

The first definite impetus towards the foundation of the School was given by Professor Jebb's 'Plea for a British Institute at Athens,' which appeared in the *Fortnightly Review* for May, 1883. This article came under the notice of the Prince of Wales, afterwards King Edward VII., who summoned a meeting on the subject at Marlborough House on June 25 of the same year. This meeting, which was attended by Mr. Gladstone, Lord Salisbury, Lord Rosebery and other distinguished public men, unanimously resolved that the time had come for a British School to be established in Athens, and a strong Committee was formed to carry the scheme into effect. Donations to the amount of about £4,000 enabled the Committee to put in hand, in the course of 1885, the building of a suitable house for the Director, with accommodation for a library and room for meetings, on a site generously granted for the purpose by the Greek Government. This house was designed by the late Mr. F. C. Penrose, whose great book on Athenian Architecture had given him a leading place among experts in that field, and it was a great satisfaction to the Committee and the Subscribers when Mr. Penrose consented, on the completion of the building in 1886, to act as the first Director of the School.

THE EARLY YEARS.

The first student, admitted in December, was Mr. Ernest Gardner, then Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, and Craven University Student, and two months later the Oxford Craven Fellow, Mr. D. G. Hogarth, was also admitted. In the following year Mr. Ernest Gardner was appointed to succeed Mr. Penrose as Director and held office for nine years. These were years of steady progress as far as the work of the School was concerned, but also of incessant financial struggle. The supply of good students from both Universities was steady and increasing, but each Annual Report had the same dismal tale

to tell of utterly inadequate funds, and it required constant faith and unwearied patience on the part of the Committee, and of the Director and other members of the School, to keep the flag flying, when the reiterated appeals for support met with so little response. This hopeful spirit was only possible because each year solid results could be shown and the advantages of the School became more and more manifest. And as time went on, recognition of the value of the School came from leading educational bodies. The University of Oxford and the Hellenic Society had made an annual grant of £100 from the outset. In the season 1889-1890, when it looked as if Mr. Gardner, whose fellowship at Caius had lapsed, would no longer be able to retain his office on the slender stipend of £200 which was all that the School could then afford from its own resources, the authorities of his College generously renewed his fellowship for a further term with the express intention of enabling him to remain in Athens.

EXCAVATIONS IN CYPRUS AND AT MEGALOPOLIS.

1887 Meanwhile, as has been said, excellent work was being done which may now be briefly touched upon. In October, 1887, a special fund was established, under the auspices of the Hellenic Society, for carrying out excavations in the island of Cyprus. It was decided that the Director of the School should take charge of the work, and with him were associated, as Students, Mr. Hogarth, Mr. M. R. James, Fellow (now Provost) of King's College, Cambridge, Dr. F. H. H. Guillemard, the well-known naturalist and traveller, and Mr. R. Elsey Smith, who went out with a grant from the Royal Institute of British Architects, to act as architect to the expedition. The discoveries made in this and the following session, first on the site of the temple of Aphrodite at Paphos, and afterwards at Polites Chrysochou, the supposed site of the ancient Arsinoe, and at Salamis, if they did not quite come up to the most sanguine expectations, were at any rate quite important enough to justify the enterprise and added prestige to the School. It was during the same two sessions that two other students, Mr. R. W. Schultz, Travelling Student of the Royal Academy, and Mr. Sidney Barnsley, began the work on Byzantine architecture in Greece which afterwards bore such excellent fruit in their admirable monograph, with abundant illustrations in colour and in black and white, on the monastery of St. Luke, at Stiris, in Phocis. The publication of other valuable material on the Byzantine churches of Greece, and of Salonica, and also of a series of full size drawings of Greek mouldings made by Mr. Schultz, was unhappily prevented at the time by lack of funds.*

1890 In the session 1890-1891 excavations were undertaken by arrangement with the Greek Government on the site of Megalopolis, and were continued for three years. Besides the Director, the work was carried out mainly by Mr. W. Loring, then Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, Mr. J. G. Milne, Mr. A. G. Bather, Mr. G. C. Richards and Mr. E. F. Benson. The discoveries made excited great

* Fortunately, as will appear later, the *Byzantine Research Fund*, which works in association with the School, is now actively furthering this important branch of Archaeology.

attention and led to an animated controversy as to whether or not there had been any raised stage in the original Greek Theatre. The final results were published by the Hellenic Society, as a Supplementary Volume, well supplied with illustrations. Two other students of this period deserve special mention, viz.: Mr. J. G. Frazer, who went out in 1889 with a grant from the University of Cambridge, to collect materials for his monumental Commentary on Pausanias, and Mr. W. J. Woodhouse (now Professor of Greek in the University of Sydney), whose researches in Aetolia were afterwards published by the Delegates of the Clarendon Press. Reference should be made also to the complete topographical survey made by Mr. Loring of Megalopolis and its neighbourhood, afterwards published in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*.

When the work at Megalopolis had been completed, the School next—in 1892—3—undertook excavations on the site of Aegosthena under the direction of Mr. E. F. Benson, assisted by Mr. R. J. G. Mayor and Mr. R. C. Bosanquet. The results, which were less important than had been anticipated, were afterwards published in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. In the following year the site of Abae, in Phocis, was excavated but without much result. Mr. J. L. Myres, who had already made some preliminary researches in Crete, on finding that the time was not yet ripe for excavations in that island, transferred his energies to Cyprus, where he made excavations on several early sites near Nicosia, Salamis and Larnaka, and also compiled a Catalogue of the Nicosia Museum.

1892

During the session 1904–5 the finances of the School did not admit of any excavation in Greece, but two of the Students, Mr. E. F. Benson and Mr. E. R. Bevan, took part in experimental excavations in Alexandria, conducted by Mr. Hogarth on behalf of the Egypt Exploration Fund, with the help of a contribution from the Hellenic Society. Two students, Mr. John Duncan, holder of the Blackie Travelling Fellowship of the Church of Scotland, and Mr. Adam Findlay, a former pupil of Professor W. M. Ramsay, sent out by the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland, availed themselves during this session of the privileges of the School in order to work at questions bearing on the history of Christianity, thus proving the usefulness of the School in a department of research which had not hitherto come within its sphere of work.

THE LIBRARY AND SIR CHARLES NEWTON.

During these early years a solid foundation was laid, both by gifts and by purchase, for the Library, which forms so essential a part of the School equipment. The most important addition was due to the generosity of Sir Charles Newton. In 1890 a fund was raised for the purpose of presenting Sir Charles with a testimonial in recognition of his eminent services to classical archaeology. Part of this was used for a bust to be placed in the British Museum, but the balance, amounting to upwards of £400, was, at his particular request, placed at the disposal of the School. The Committee decided to expend part of this sum on the purchase of a complete set of the *Annali* and *Monumenti* of the German Institute at Rome, to be inscribed

with Sir Charles Newton's name. The rest of the money was applied as a Newton Fund for purposes of research.

THE TURN OF THE TIDE.

1895 We now come to the year 1895, which proved to be a welcome turning point in the affairs of the School. The financial difficulties which constantly hampered its work had for some time past engaged the attention not only of the Committee but of all who had the welfare of the School at heart. More than once the idea of an appeal for Government support had been mooted privately, but had met with no encouragement. The School, however, had an invaluable friend in Mr. (now Sir) Edwin Egerton, the British Minister at Athens, and it was largely at his instance that the Committee at last decided to make an appeal to the Treasury. Mr. Egerton had paved the way by drawing up and circulating early in 1894 a memorandum contrasting the meagre revenues of the British School with the far ampler funds at the disposal of the French, German, and American Schools, the two former receiving large grants from their respective Governments, while the American School had an income of about £1,400 a year, mainly contributed by Universities and Colleges. Early in 1895 an appeal to the Treasury was drawn up and was signed not only by a large number of private individuals prominent in Church and State and in various departments of public life, but also by the official representatives of the British Museum, the National Gallery, the Royal Academy, the Royal Society, the Royal Institute of British Architects, the Society of Antiquaries, the Society of Dilettanti, the Hellenic Society, the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Dublin, St. Andrews, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Durham, the Victoria University, and other provincial Universities, King's College, and University College, London, and all the leading public Schools. This document, so influentially supported, set forth in plain terms the claims of the School to assistance from the public funds, and suggested that an annual grant of £500 a year would be amply justified. It was presented in June to Lord Rosebery as First Lord of the Treasury and Sir William Harcourt as Chancellor of the Exchequer. Within a few days of its delivery the Ministry resigned in consequence of what is known as the cordite vote, but happily before leaving office Sir William Harcourt had recorded a minute in favour of the grant of £500 being made for a period of five years, and his successor, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, in due course confirmed the grant.

But this most welcome addition to its funds did not exhaust the good fortune of the School in this its *annus mirabilis*. While the result of the appeal was still very uncertain, Mr. Egerton had been working for its benefit in another direction, and had succeeded in persuading H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, who had given the School its first start by a meeting at Marlborough House in 1883, to summon another meeting with the object of improving its financial position. This meeting, over which the Prince again presided, was held at St. James's Palace on July 9th, 1895, and was attended by a large and distinguished company. The speakers

included, besides the Chairman, the Duke of Sparta, the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Benson), Professor Jebb, Sir Frederick Leighton, Mr. Egerton, Lord Herschell, and Dr. Magrath (Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford). It was at this meeting that the promised grant from the Treasury was first publicly announced, but the meeting itself yielded fresh annual subscriptions for limited periods to the amount of £300 (including £25 from the Prince of Wales) and donations to the amount of £800. It was also during this year that the University of Cambridge first made their annual grant of £100 to the funds of the School.

It will be seen at once that the School had now entered upon a new and happier era, and those responsible for its management had at last been relieved from the weight of anxiety about finance which had hampered their action for the past nine years. That their efforts were in the end rewarded by the recognition implied, alike in the Government grant and in the St. James's Palace meeting, was due to the fact that they had been able to point to a record of splendid work done in Athens and elsewhere in the face of constant difficulty, and for this the credit lies in the main with the first two Directors, Mr. Penrose (1886-87) and Mr. Ernest Gardner (1887-95), and with the able and devoted Students who from time to time worked under their guidance. Successful excavations had been undertaken in Cyprus and at Megalopolis, the field of Byzantine Architecture had been worked with great effect by Messrs. Schultz and Barnsley, and the work of other distinguished Students, including Mr. Hogarth, Mr. J. A. R. Munro, Mr. G. C. Richards, Mr. William Loring, Mr. W. J. Woodhouse, Mr. A. G. Bather, Mr. H. Stuart Jones, Mr. V. W. Yorke, Mr. J. L. Myres, and Mr. E. F. Benson, had been published from time to time in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*.

To inaugurate the new era, the Committee were fortunate enough to secure the services as Director of Mr. (now Sir) Cecil Smith, who had received his training in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities under the eye of Sir Charles Newton. The Trustees of the Museum granted Mr. Smith leave of absence sufficient to enable him to hold the post for two sessions, which were memorable in the history of the School for two important developments, the building of a Students' Hostel in the precincts of the School and the foundation of the School *Annual*.

THE HOSTEL AND THE ANNUAL.

It had for some time past been felt that the Students worked at some disadvantage through being obliged to live in hotels or lodgings at a distance from the School, while the Director's house afforded too little accommodation, as the number of Students increased, for work in the Library and for meetings. Mr. Cecil Smith urged upon the Committee that the time had come for building a Hostel, which should at once provide quarters for the Students and an adequate room for the Library and the meetings. The raising of the necessary funds was largely due to the Director's personal efforts, and there can be no doubt that the efficiency of the School, and the comfort of the Students, have been greatly increased by the establishment of this centre of their common life. The building,

so far as the Students' quarters are concerned, was completed in the second year of Mr. Cecil Smith's Directorship, though it was only used for the first time in the following Session. Mr. Charles Clark, Architectural Student, was largely responsible for the plans, and Mr. Pieter Rodeck, Travelling Student of the Royal Academy, assisted in the supervision of the work.

The School *Annual* again was mainly due to Mr. Smith's initiative, while he was a member of the Managing Committee. Hitherto, apart from the contributions of its members to the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, the School had had nothing to shew to its supporters but the Annual Report of the Committee, with the Proceedings at the Annual Meeting of Subscribers. It was felt that now the School was firmly established its work from year to year should be put on record in a more attractive and more permanent form. Accordingly, early in 1896, the first number of the *Annual* was issued, and contained, besides the usual Report of the Committee and Director, the text of the appeal for a Government grant, with a complete list of signatures, a report of the Proceedings of the Meeting at St. James's Palace in July, 1895, and some papers of a popular character illustrating the work of the School. The volume was very well received and, as is well known, the *Annual* has now taken a prominent place among archaeological periodicals. In course of time it has assumed a more serious and substantial character, and it has contained the full preliminary reports not only of all excavations and researches undertaken by members of the School, but also of the marvellous discoveries made under the auspices of the Cretan Exploration Fund, by Sir Arthur Evans and his fellow workers in the island of Crete. Fears were at one time entertained that the *Annual* might interfere with the due supply of articles to the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, but these fears have been proved to be groundless, and the two periodicals now flourish side by side in friendly co-operation.

It must not, however, be supposed that Mr. Cecil Smith's energies as Director were confined to these two undertakings which specially mark the period of his rule. The ordinary work of the School was carried out with zeal and success, important additions were made to the Library and its contents were re-arranged, while fruitful excavations were undertaken in Athens, on the site of Kynosarges, and also on the site of Phylakopi, in the island of Melos.

EXCAVATIONS AT PHYLAKOPI AND AT NAUCRATIS.

1897

When Mr. Smith's brief term of office came to an end he was succeeded by one of the most distinguished of the early students of the School, Mr. D. G. Hogarth, who held office for three years. During this period the excavations at Phylakopi, which lasted from 1896 to 1899, were completed, with results of the first importance for the study of prehistoric art and civilization in Greece. The Director was ably assisted in the work by Mr. Duncan Mackenzie and Mr. C. C. Edgar, who had previously worked on the site under Mr. Cecil Smith and by Mr. T. D. Atkinson, who was specially appointed as architect to the

expedition. The final results were published by the Hellenic Society in 1904, as a separate volume, well supplied with illustrations, and the joint work of the following contributors, Sir Cecil Smith, Mr. Hogarth, Mr. T. D. Atkinson, Mr. Bosanquet, Mr. C. C. Edgar, Sir Arthur Evans, Mr. F. B. Welch and Mr. Duncan Mackenzie. The volume was edited by Mr. Bosanquet, Professor Ernest Gardner and Mr. G. F. Hill.

In the session 1898-9, besides the completion of the work at Phylakopi, excavations were undertaken upon the site of Naucratis, by the help of a generous contribution from the Society of Dilettanti and smaller grants from the Ashmolean Museum, at Oxford, and the Fitzwilliam Museum, at Cambridge. The support of the Society of Dilettanti was specially welcome as indicating on the part of that eminent body a readiness to regard the School as its agent in carrying out the kind of work on Greek soil which in earlier days had been undertaken with such brilliant success by the Society itself. The excavations at Naucratis did not last many weeks, as part of the site had been previously explored by Mr. Flinders Petrie and Mr. Ernest Gardner, but the site of the great Hellenion was found and identified, while a deposit of fine fifth-century terracottas, relics of an Aphrodite cultus, was unearthed in the enclosure, together with some very interesting early sculpture and vase fragments. The objects found were ultimately placed in the British, Ashmolean, and Fitzwilliam Museums, and the results of the excavation, recorded by Mr. Hogarth, Mr. Edgar, and Mr. Gutch, were published in the *Annual* of the School. It should be added that a member of the School, Mr. F. B. Welch, was deputed during this session by the authorities of the British Museum to work in the island of Cyprus. 1898

EXCAVATIONS IN CRETE.

It was during this session also that plans were laid for those excavations in Crete which have since led to such marvellous discoveries mainly associated with the name of Mr. (now Sir) Arthur Evans, who had already made preliminary researches in the island, and marked out and secured the most promising sites. The change in the political situation, whereby the Greek law of excavation came into force, at last made it possible to begin operations. It was felt that the work was likely to be on a larger scale than the School could undertake single-handed. Accordingly a 'Cretan Exploration Fund' was formed under the joint management of Mr. Evans and of Mr. Hogarth, as Director of the School. In order to set the Director free to devote himself to this important work, an old student of the School, Mr. R. Carr Bosanquet, was appointed Assistant Director for the following session with special charge of the ordinary work in Athens.

The session of 1899-1900 was memorable for the discoveries made in Crete. Mr. Hogarth, after some preliminary and fruitful work on the site of Knossos, turned his attention to the cave at Psychro, which he identified without doubt as the far-famed Dictæan Cave. In it were found masses of bronze statuettes, implements, weapons, gems, and articles of personal adornment, while even the natural niches 1899

in the stalactite formations were in many cases stocked with votive axes, blades, needles, and the like. But even these remarkable finds were thrown into the shade by Mr. Arthur Evans's discovery, on another part of the site of Knossos, of the remains of the great prehistoric palace, presumably of King Minos, with wall-paintings and painted vases which opened a new chapter in the history of art, and with upwards of 1,000 inscribed tablets, which may yet prove an important contribution to the science of language. It would be out of place to dwell here in detail upon the brilliant series of discoveries which were renewed year by year on this famous site and made the explorer's name famous throughout the civilized world. For one thing the work was not directly connected with the School, although Mr. Evans had long been one of its Associates, and keenly interested in its welfare. For another, owing to the explorer's generosity, the preliminary results were published in successive volumes of the *School Annual*, and did much to raise that periodical to its present eminent position in its own field. It may therefore be assumed that all friends of the School are already more or less familiar with excavations which may compare in importance with any which have been undertaken, whether by Englishmen or by foreigners, on any ancient site. It should be recorded that Mr. Evans was ably assisted in his researches by former students of the School, including Mr. Duncan Mackenzie, who acted as his right-hand man throughout, and Mr. Theodore Fyfe and Mr. C. T. Doll, who gave invaluable help on the architectural side of the work.

THE FINLAY LIBRARY.

Before leaving the session of 1899-1900, and entering upon a new century, one or two other events of the year deserve mention. The first was the gift made to the School Library by Mr. W. H. Cooke, the surviving executor, of the library and antiquities collected by Mr. George Finlay during his long residence in Greece. The library, which was naturally rich in books dealing with Byzantine history, was placed, in the bookshelves which formed part of the gift, in one of the rooms of the Hostel, where it is not only of great use to the students but also forms a permanent memorial of the eminent historian of mediæval Greece.

This year also saw the publication, thanks mainly to the generosity of Dr. Edwin Freshfield, of the monograph on St. Luke's Monastery, at Stiris, in Phocis, which represented the first instalment of the valuable studies on Byzantine Architecture in Greece, made by Mr. R. W. Schultz and Mr. Sidney Barnsley, while they were Students of the School from 1887 to 1891.

Lastly an application for the renewal of the Government grant, supported by a full account of the work done by the School during the past five years, and by a list of subscribers, which shewed that Government aid had in no way checked the flow of private generosity, met with a favourable response from the Treasury, and the letter from 'My Lords' announcing that the grant would be made for a further term of five years, was couched in the most gracious terms. Twice since then the grant has been renewed for the same term, and so long as the School maintains its

present high standard of work there can be little fear that this support will be withdrawn.

During the session, 1900-1901, the Prince of Wales, whose powerful influence had been used on behalf of the School from its foundation, came to the throne as King Edward VII., and shewed his continued interest in the welfare of the institution by accepting the office of Patron. 1900

Mr. R. Carr Bosanquet, who had long been a Student, and had acted as Assistant Director during the previous session, now succeeded Mr. Hogarth as Director. Assisted by Mr. R. D. Wells as Architectural Student, and by other Students, he successfully excavated the site of Praesos in Eastern Crete, where tombs were opened ranging from the geometric period to the fourth century B.C., and vases of various periods were found. On an adjoining site was discovered an inscription in a Non-Hellenic language, which was assumed to be Eteocretan, as Praesos was known to have been in historical times the chief centre of the Eteocretans. Votive offerings were found in bronze and terracotta, the latter revealing the existence of a vigorous native school of art. The Society of Dilettanti again shewed its interest in the School by a grant of £50 towards the expenses of the excavation. During the session the Ex-Director, Mr. Hogarth, was working under the auspices of the Cretan Exploration Fund on the site of Kato Zakro, where among other important finds he came on some beautiful vases, one of which was reproduced in colour with his report in the School *Annual*.

It was in this year that the sister School in Rome was opened on a modest scale and with very limited funds under Mr. G. McNeile Rushforth, as its first Director. The Committee of the School at Athens had done its best to encourage the foundation of the new School, and the relations between the two bodies have always been of the most friendly character.

APPOINTMENT OF ASSISTANT DIRECTOR.

It had been felt for some time past that in order to maintain a continuity of tradition in the School and to develop its possibilities to the full, it was important that Students should as far as possible be encouraged to come out for several sessions, and this had been achieved to some extent. But as time went on it became clear also that the Director needed some help in administration. During part of the session his services were required in superintending the work in the field, which must play so important a part in the activities of the School. It was, therefore, necessary that some responsible person should at such times take his place in Athens, direct the work of the Students there, give the guidance and advice so constantly required by visitors, and manage the Library. This post of Assistant Director and Librarian would naturally be filled by one of the Senior Students who could at the same time carry on researches of his own. The chance of succeeding to this post as a possible step to the Directorship would tend to attract men to go out year after year. This experiment had been tried tentatively when Mr. Bosanquet was appointed Assistant Director in the last year of Mr. Hogarth's term

of office. It was repeated during the session 1901-2, when Mr. M. N. Tod was appointed Assistant Director to Mr. Bosanquet, and since then the post has become an essential part of the organization of the School.

Among the achievements of this session may be recorded the preliminary excavation of the site of Cyzicus by Mr. F. W. Hasluck, who received a grant of £90 from the Craven Fund at Cambridge, to cover the expenses. The work was continued in later sessions, and the results were finally published in book form by the Cambridge University Press.

EXCAVATIONS AT PALAIKASTRO.

Meanwhile the Director, Mr. Bosanquet, made preliminary excavations on the early site of Palaikastro in Eastern Crete, with the assistance of Mr. Heaton Comyn, Architectural Student. The results were sufficiently promising to justify more thorough excavations in succeeding sessions. Many ancient houses and tombs were discovered, and as many skulls were preserved a grant of £50 was made by the British Association, in order that an expert might be sent out to examine them. This work was entrusted in the following session to Mr. W. L. H. Duckworth, Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, and University Lecturer in Physical Anthropology.

1902 During the session 1902-3 many more houses were uncovered at Palaikastro, and one extremely beautiful vase was found which resembled that with marine designs which Mr. Hogarth had found at Zakro. The Director was assisted in the work by Mr. Tod, Mr. Dawkins, Mr. Duckworth, Mr. Currelly of Toronto, and a former student, Mr. J. L. Myres, who carried out a separate excavation on the adjoining site of Petsofa. In the course of the year the School had to lament the death of Mr. F. C. Penrose, its first Director, who had also served on the Committee ever since he gave up his office. It was widely felt that his great services to archaeology should be commemorated, and the Committee of the Memorial Fund on which not only the School but also the Royal Institute of British Architects, and the Hellenic Society, were represented, decided that the sum raised should be devoted to the completion of the Hostel building by the addition of a Library which should bear Mr. Penrose's name. When the scheme was announced the Archaeological Society of Athens offered to the Library a bust of Mr. Penrose to be executed by an Athenian artist, an offer cordially accepted by the Committee who welcomed this further evidence of the good will always shown to the School by the Greek nation.

1903 During the session 1903-4 the work on the new Library, which was executed by an Athenian builder after the design of Mr. Heaton Comyn, the School Architect, proceeded steadily and the building was nearly completed before the winter of 1904.

The excavations at Palaikastro were continued by the Director with the help of Mr. Dawkins, Mr. Comyn, and Mr. Currelly. The most important find was an inscription which contained the text of an ancient hymn to the Cretan Zeus, and so

confirmed the theory that a temple of *Zeὺς Δικταῖος* had stood in classical times on the ruins of the Minoan town at Palaikastro. The language of the hymn was thought by Sir Richard Jebb to belong to the sixth or seventh century B.C. More of the town was uncovered and a Late Minoan Palace or Government House was found. Adjoining storehouses yielded painted pottery and terracotta figurines, while minor finds were made in cemeteries and on sites close at hand.

In the course of the session M. Kavvadias, the Ephor-General of Antiquities, offered the School the opportunity of exploration and excavation in Laconia, and the offer being gladly accepted a preliminary survey was undertaken on the site of Sparta.

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONGRESS AND THE PENROSE LIBRARY.

The session 1904-5 was marked by the fact that in April the first meeting of the newly-established International Archaeological Congress was held in Athens and drew together a remarkable gathering of scholars and archaeologists from all parts of the world. The various Schools took an active part in the organization of the Congress, and the British School came into special prominence because it was arranged that the formal opening of the new Penrose Memorial Library by the Crown Prince of Greece, as President of the Congress and also of the Athenian Archaeological Society, should form part of the programme. The ceremony was attended not only by the Crown Prince, but by the King and Queen of Greece, the British and other Ministers at the Court of Athens, the Directors of all the foreign schools, and the officials and leading delegates to the Congress. After an introductory statement by the Chairman of the School Committee, the Crown Prince spoke in warm terms of the services of Mr. Penrose to Greek archaeology, and of the affection and esteem in which he was held by the Greek nation. Subsequent speakers who expressed similar appreciation of the work and character of Mr. Penrose included M. Homolle, M. Kavvadias, Dr. Dörpfeld, Professor J. R. Wheeler, Chairman of the Committee of the American School, Mr. Cecil Smith, Mr. Bosanquet, and Professor Waldstein. The Library, with some important accessions, was placed in its new home, and to some extent arranged, in the course of the session.

1904

WORK AT PALAIKASTRO AND IN LACONIA.

After the Congress the School once more resumed its labours in the field, and the excavation at Palaikastro was completed under the direction of Mr. Dawkins. After the site of the temple of Zeus had been worked over and its terracotta decoration had been recovered, including a frieze of chariots and metopes adorned with the head of Medusa, buildings of the Bronze Age underlying the temple proved to be especially rich in objects of the fine 'Palace Style' which is known to have flourished in Crete during the Egyptian Eighteenth Dynasty. In a slightly older stratum a quantity of bones of oxen which seemed to mark the position of an early

place of sacrifice seemed to shew that this lonely Hellenic temple, which stood a thousand years later on the ruins of the prehistoric town, occupied, whether by chance or by some direct religious survival, a site of immemorial antiquity. Terracotta models of bulls' heads and masses of painted pottery of the Late Minoan I. period were succeeded still lower by a quantity of 'Early Minoan' pottery, while on a site not far distant Mr. Dawkins discovered a two-roomed house, with primitive pottery, bone needles, stone axes, etc., which, for the first time in the Aegean, gave a definite idea of a Neolithic homestead. In summing up the results of the whole excavation the Annual Report expressed the view that 'perhaps nowhere in the Greek world have more, or more beautiful objects been recovered from the earth at so trifling a cost.'

Meanwhile the work of exploration in Laconia had been seriously begun. Tentative excavations on the site of Thalamai, famous in antiquity for its oracular shrine of the Goddess Ino, did not yield much, as the site had been constantly ransacked for stone in the Middle Ages, but Mr. Guy Dickins discovered and photographed some interesting sculptured marble capitals and screens. At Geronthrae (modern Geraki) Mr. Hasluck and Mr. Wace made trial excavations on the Acropolis, and though Hellenic remains were scarce they found an interesting settlement of the Bronze Age, and also arranged for the publication of a remarkable series of archaic marble sculptures collected by the local mayor. At Angelona Mr. Hasluck brought to light a local heroön with its complete equipment, which was afterwards exhibited in the museum at Sparta. The catalogue of this museum by Mr. Tod and Mr. Wace was completed during the session, and was ultimately published by the Delegates of the Clarendon Press.

1905

During the Session 1905-6 King Edward and Queen Alexandra spent a week in Athens and paid a long visit to the School. The death of Sir Richard Jebb was a grave loss to the School, which had actually owed its foundation to his initiative and had constantly profited by his interest and advice as a member of Committee. His place as one of the three Trustees of the School funds was taken by Dr. Walter Leaf, who had acted as Hon. Treasurer from its foundation and had rendered invaluable service. He was succeeded by the present Treasurer, Mr. Vincent Yorke, a former student.

EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA.

The main work of the School in the field was devoted to the site of Ancient Sparta, and the results of the first season were decidedly encouraging. The walls which enclosed the ancient Acropolis were traced in their entire circuit, and proved to be of late Roman construction after the sack of Sparta by the Goths, although its materials were drawn from the Agora and other ancient buildings. The front of the Greek theatre was incorporated in the defences, but the lower rows of seats were well preserved, and the orchestra floor was reached at a depth of nineteen feet. The Greek city wall, enclosing a far larger area, with a circuit of six miles, was also traced. It was nine feet thick, built of sun-dried bricks resting on a

substructure of polygonal limestone blocks, and dated from the third century B.C. Various Hellenic remains were found along the bank of the river within these walls, but by far the most important discovery was the famous Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia. The first clue to the site was given by a large series of small leaden figures, but on the second day an inscription with the name Artemis Orthia made identification certain. The difficulties of working the site were enormous, including the diversion of a millstream, which flowed right through the temple. A solid wall, which extended far inland from the river bank, proved to be the substructure of a Roman theatre. The complete excavation had to be deferred to the following season, but two principal strata had already yielded a rich harvest. The older, characterised by Geometric pottery and exquisite carved ivories, analogous to those found at Ephesus, extended to the seventh century B.C. The latter, which had already yielded some 12,000 lead figurines and grotesque terracotta masks, ranged from the seventh to the fifth century. The lead figurines, in their endless variety of types, furnished a most valuable survey of archaic art in the Peloponnese, while the large series of masks revealed the gradual development of a vigorous naturalism. They seemed to point to the existence of some dramatic performance connected with the temple, and suggested that it had been the scene of musical contests for boys as well as for the better-known ordeal of flogging. Upwards of fifty inscriptions recorded the names of boy victors. So important had the festival become in the third century after Christ that a permanent theatre-like building was constructed to seat the spectators. The two wings of the auditorium abutted on the sides of the temple, the front and sides of which took the place of a proscenium. The work was begun by the Director, with the assistance of Mr. Guy Dickens, Mr. H. J. W. Tillyard, Mr. Sejk as surveyor, and Mr. Ramsay Traquair as architect. Later in the season Mr. Wace and Mr. Dawkins arrived, and the latter took charge of the work in the Artemision.

Besides this central work at Sparta, the remains of the Byzantine and Frankish periods in Laconia occupied the attention of Mr. Sejk and Mr. Traquair, by whom plans, measurements, or drawings were made of the citadel of Geraki, with its churches, and of the churches of Monemvasia, and the castles of Passavâ, Maina, and Chelefa.

Another Student, Mr. A. C. Brown, with a grant from the Oxford Craven Fund, examined two sites in Boeotia, one near the hamlet of Dilisi where it was hoped to find a temple of the Delian Apollo and the other on the hill of St. Elias, about two miles inland from Dilisi, where he unearthed a house containing pottery of the Mycenaean period and a contemporary rock tomb.

In Crete, supplementary excavations were undertaken at Palaikastro by Mr. Dawkins and Mr. Droop, who also, with the Director, spent some months in Candia preparing the results of the Cretan excavations for exhibition and publication. Drawings of special objects were made by Mr. Sejk, Mr. Bagge, and Mr. Dawkins, and a large series of photographs were prepared.

At the Olympic Games, which were celebrated at Athens from April 22nd to May 2nd, the Director was appointed by the Foreign Office to represent the British

Government, and the use of the School Library, guidance through the Museum and over the Acropolis, and even accommodation in the Hostel, were offered to British athletes and newspaper correspondents.

Mr. F. W. Hasluck, who had been appointed Librarian in succession to Mr. Tod, devoted much time and labour this session to the arrangement of the books.

With this exceptionally active session Mr. Bosanquet's successful term of office as Director came to an end on his appointment to the newly-founded chair of Archaeology in the University of Liverpool. He was succeeded by Mr. R. M. Dawkins, Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, who had been a Student for four years and had already won a high reputation as archaeologist, philologist, and explorer. He had taken a prominent part in the excavations at Palaikastro and had also given valuable help in the work in Laconia. Mr. Hasluck was appointed Assistant Director and continued his able work on the Library.

1906

The session of 1906-1907 was again one of great and varied activity, in which the Director and Assistant Director were helped by nine very capable students, and also by the Secretary of the School, Mr. Baker-Penoyre, who had a year's leave of absence in order to travel and make researches in Greece, the Aegean Islands, and Asia Minor.

ARTEMIS ORTHIA AND ATHENA CHALKIOIKOS.

At Sparta the main object was to complete the exploration of the precinct of Artemis Orthia. The Roman theatre (the 'Circus' seen by Leake in 1830) was completely excavated, and a careful plan and restoration made by Mr. Walter George the architectural student. As previously mentioned, the steps and front of the sixth-century temple of Artemis formed the proscenium, but this season the altar contemporary with an older temple was laid bare and in the same stratum a most valuable archaic deposit was dug out with the utmost care, each section being separately removed, stored, and recorded. The evidence thus obtained as to the evolution of Spartan art and handicrafts was so complete and interesting as fully to justify the labour involved. Pottery was found ranging from Geometric through Proto-Corinthian to a style closely allied to Corinthian. There were also found terracotta and lead figurines, small bronzes, and, most important of all, carved ivory in the form of plaques and of figures in the round. These objects, the cobble pavement below them, and the altar were dated between the seventh and ninth centuries B.C. The temple of the same period had yet to be found.

The general course of the wall of the city was determined by means of the stamped tiles made for it, though few stones remained *in situ*. It included within its circuit all the villages of ancient Sparta.

On April 4, when the first trial pit was sunk on the Acropolis of Sparta, the famous sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos was identified beyond doubt by the discovery of a roof-tile with the stamp Ἀθηνᾶς χαλκιοίκου. Other finds included eight bronze bells, a sixth-century bronze herm, and nine bronze statuettes, among

them a beautiful figure of a trumpeter of good fifth-century work and in excellent preservation, one of the finest things ever found in Laconia. There were also found a Panathenaic amphora, an archaic inscription dealing with athletic victories, and a fragment belonging to the Damophon inscription already in the Sparta Museum. Fragments of capitals in the Brazen House showed it to be in Doric style, and a few bronze nails and some bronze plates were also found. The work at Sparta was throughout under the supervision of the Director, assisted by Mr. Wace, Mr. Guy Dickins, and Mr. Droop, who were present nearly all the time, while occasional help was given by Mr. Tillyard, Mr. T. E. Peet, Mr. A. M. Woodward, and Mr. W. S. George.

At the end of the season a site in Thessaly near Bromyri was excavated by Mr. Wace and Mr. Droop, some drums and a triglyph block on the surface having encouraged the hope that the foundations of a Greek temple might be discovered. But the drums proved not to be in position and the stylobate could not be found. Four 'geometric' tombs, however, came to light, with bronze objects and eighteen vases similar to a group from Thessaly in the National Museum.

As illustrating the varied work of the Session, it may be recorded that Mr. Hasluck and the Secretary travelled in Asia Minor and the islands. Mr. Dickins before going to Sparta worked at his well-known paper on Damophon of Messene (*Annual*, Vol. XII.), and also started on the Acropolis Catalogue, the making of which had been entrusted to the School by the Museum authorities. Mr. Droop investigated prehistoric Sicilian pottery in the Museums of Sicily and also studied early bronzes and pottery at Athens. Mr. George, besides doing good work in Egypt, visited Salonica and made a complete survey of four important Churches. Miss Mary Hamilton of St. Andrews, who held a Fellowship from the Carnegie Trust, made a study of the festivals of the Greek Church and their connexion with the ceremonies of the ancient Greeks, the results of which have since been published in book form. Mr. Peet began his study of prehistoric Aegean antiquities and of the early relations between the Aegean and various parts of Italy, which have since led to the publication of his brilliant book on the subject. Mr. Tillyard studied a thirteenth-century manuscript of Greek church music in the National Library and also investigated MSS. in the Monastery of "Αγιοι Τεσσαράκοντα and in some of the monasteries of Mt. Athos. Mr. Wace made in November an extensive journey through Laconia and the adjoining country. Mr. Woodward also travelled in the Peloponnese and in Crete, and carried out topographical researches in the southern district of Maina.

FURTHER WORK AT SPARTA.

During the session 1907-1908, the work at Sparta was again vigorously prosecuted with the help of a munificent donation of £1,000 from Mr. W. W. Astor. The Artemision was the main objective, and here the primitive temple coeval with the large archaic altar was found, and proved to have been a building of mud brick, resting on a foundation of undressed stones, and held together by a

framework of wooden beams, while a row of wooden columns ran down the centre. It seemed probable that this was the earliest Dorian building on record. Many more archaic votive offerings of bronze and ivory supplemented the finds of previous years. But the finds in pottery were of more striking importance. A practically complete series of the pottery known as Cyrenaic, ranging from its primitive forms through the mature style to its decadence, seemed to confirm Klein's previous conjecture that this fabric was really Laconian. The excavation of the site of Athena Chalkioikos was completed, but the new finds were unimportant. A hoard of silver tetradrachms, however, half Athenian and half belonging to dynasts of the Hellenistic age, was found on the northern bank of the Eurotas. The work at Sparta was carried out by the Director with the help of Messrs. Wace, Dickins, Droop, Woodward and other Students.

EXCAVATIONS IN NORTHERN GREECE.

It had been felt for some time that a determined effort was needed to throw more light on the chronology of the early civilization of Northern Greece, and on its relationship to other cultures. During this session, therefore, Messrs. Wace, Droop, and M. S. Thompson, with a grant from the Cambridge Worts Fund, excavated a site called Zerelia, near Almyro in Southern Thessaly. The hope of identifying the site with Itanos, by discovering the temple of Athena Itania, proved vain. But a rich prehistoric deposit was found from 6 to 8 metres thick and comprising no fewer than eight successive settlements. As fragments of late Mycenaean vases of the Ialysos type (late Minoan III.) were found in the topmost stratum, this settlement might be attributed to about 1200-1100 B.C. The contents of the other settlements indicated that until the last phase of the Mycenaean supremacy, Northern Greece was still in the Neolithic age. Meanwhile, with help from the Craven Fund and from private contributions, Mr. P. N. Ure continued on the site of Mycalessus (Rhitsona), in Boeotia excavations begun in the previous year by Professor R. M. Burrows and himself. Seven large tombs of the archaic period were found to contain Boeotian vases of this age, with objects of silver and bronze, including a bronze tripod. In a series of late Greek tombs were found a large quantity of 'Tanagra' figurines resembling closely those found in the graves at Chaeroneia.

With a view to settling doubtful points Professor Bosanquet made a further visit to Palaikastro, where he made some minor discoveries, besides four *larnakes* with vases, beads and a bronze knife.

THE BYZANTINE RESEARCH FUND.

During the year a *Byzantine Research and Publication Fund* was established in association with the School, a step which was all the more welcome to the Committee because they had long regretted their inability, on financial grounds, to publish much of the admirable work done in this field by their former distinguished

Students, Mr. R. W. Schultz and Mr. S. H. Barnsley. A balance of sums already contributed to the School for this purpose was made over to the new *Fund*, and it was arranged that Students coming out under its auspices should be entitled to election as Students of the School. Mr. W. Harvey, Gold Medallist and Travelling Student of the Royal Academy, accordingly visited Greece during the session, and while principally engaged on Byzantine studies also gave valuable help as draughtsman in the excavations at Sparta.

Further progress was made with the Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum by Messrs. Dickins, Droop, and Wace. As in previous sessions, these and other Students, including Mr. Hasluck, the Assistant Director, made tours of exploration in various parts of Greece and the Greek islands. Two Students, Mr. A. C. Sheepshanks, Assistant Master at Eton, and Mr. Norman Whatley, Fellow of Hertford College, Oxford, were granted special leave of absence from their posts in order to acquire a general but first-hand knowledge of the topography and antiquities of the country whose history and literature they were called upon to teach. The Committee were particularly glad to see the privileges of the School thus turned to practical account in classical teaching, and hoped that this enlightened policy might be followed by other educational bodies.

WORK AT SPARTA, IN THESSALY, AND IN CYPRUS.

During the session 1908-9 the work at Sparta was brought to a conclusion, 1908
for, after completing the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, and excavating the Menelaion, trial pits on the more promising parts of the site of the ancient city seemed to show that no site of importance remained to be excavated. Not much more was found in the *Artemision*. In the Menelaion, which proved to be an oblong platform which may have supported a small temple or other monument, were found an interesting series of bronzes and pottery, which filled up a period (Laconian II.) not well represented in the series from the *Artemision*. The Director was assisted in the work by Messrs. Wace, Droop, Woodward, and Thompson, while Mr. Walter George, who had come out for the Byzantine Fund, gave valuable help as a draughtsman and surveyor.

The work in Northern Greece was continued by the excavation of two sites, Palaeomylos, near Lianokladi, in the Spercheios Valley, and Tzani Maghoulia, near Sophades, in Western Thessaly. At the former three well-marked strata were found, in the lowest of which were sherds of the red-on-white ware found in Thessaly and Phocis; in the second, pottery of the black lustre style found by Dr. Furtwängler at Orchomenos; and in the topmost, pottery of a type hitherto unknown, a reddish brown hand-made ware with black geometric patterns, which the excavators regarded as contemporaneous with late Minoan III. At Tzani Maghoulia no fewer than eight successive strata were excavated with good results, the most important finds being two or three nearly complete 'red-on-white' vases from Settlement VII., and a fine collection of bone pins. The work was carried out by Messrs. Wace, Thompson, and Peet.

The excavations at Rhitsona in Boeotia were continued by Professor Burrows, with the help of a grant from the University of Manchester. Some twenty early tombs were opened containing a large number of vases, chiefly of the Proto-Corinthian or Corinthian type, but no Boeotian kylikes. Mr. Ure spent some time in arranging the finds of the previous season in the Thebes Museum. The activity of the Students in travel and exploration in various parts of Greece, the Islands, and Asia Minor was again very marked. Mr. Hasluck in particular collected much valuable material bearing on the later monuments and history of the Levant. The Director, with Mr. Thompson, visited Cyprus, and drew up a report on the condition of the antiquities of the island, while Mr. Farrell, at Mr. Dawkins' request, drew up a report on the present state of archaeological research in the island. These materials have been placed in the hands of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, which is taking steps to obtain some long-needed reforms in the administration of antiquities in Cyprus.

1909

During the session 1909-1910 a month's work was done at Sparta by the Director, assisted by Messrs Farrell and Ormerod, mainly in identifying the site of the Eleusinion, and in further examination of the Mycenaean site near the Menelaion. Remains were found of a fairly extensive city, which must, however, from its ruined condition, have been destroyed and the classical Sparta refounded on another site.

In Thessaly excavations were carried out by Messrs. Wace and Thompson on the sites of Tsangli between Pharsala and Velesino, and Rachmani, halfway between Larissa and Tempe. The results compared with those of previous seasons seemed to justify the division of the prehistoric remains of Thessaly into four periods: I., *Neolithic*, marked by the occurrence of red-on-white painted pottery; II., *Neolithic*, marked by the presence of Dimini and similar wares; III., *Sub-Neolithic*, with the remarkable encrusted ware; and IV., *Chalcolithic*, with unpainted pottery, apparently contemporaneous with Late Minoan II. and III.

Professor Bosanquet again visited Candia in the spring of 1910, and, with the help of Mr. Ormerod, completed the arrangement in the new Museum of the finds from the British School excavations. A large number of drawings and photographs were made to illustrate the forthcoming book on Palaikastro.

The Director, besides superintending the work at Sparta, travelled in Northern Greece, in Crete, and later for some months in Asia Minor.

During this session Mr. Hasluck, the Assistant Director, had leave of absence, and after an extensive tour in India visited Jerusalem, and afterwards travelled in Asia Minor and Cyprus, examining and photographing Genoese and other mediaeval remains. Mr. A. M. Woodward ably filled Mr Hasluck's place as Assistant Director and Librarian in Athens.

Messrs. Wace and Thompson, before they resumed their excavations, made extensive journeys in Thessaly, collecting topographical and other data for a work on prehistoric Northern Greece.

Mr. A. E. Zimmern, late Fellow and Tutor of New College, Oxford, travelled in Greece and also spent some six months in residence at the Hostel, where he

found the Library of the utmost assistance in his preparations for a general work upon Greek life, which has since been published.

WORK OF THE LAST SESSION.

The narrative of the first twenty-five years of the life of the School ends with the session 1910-1911. The chief event has been the renewed excavations on the site of Phylakopi in the island of Melos, which has added materially to previous results, especially in relation to the discoveries since made in Crete. Trial-pits on and around the site of the Palace gave good ideas of the stratification and yielded a number of vases. But the main work was to clear to bedrock the portion of the town left untouched by the previous explorers. Here were found a series of eight or nine burials of children, the bones being laid in jars, of early geometric style, within the houses. Such intra-mural interment was apparently confined to infants. As in the first excavation a quantity of grey pottery called Minyan was again found and its position in the series of pottery fixed with some certainty, inasmuch as most of it occurred with vases contemporary with the middle Minoan period of Crete. The discovery in the lowest strata on the rock, of a small quantity of pottery allied to the "Urfirnis" ware of Tiryns and Boeotia is, like the Minyan, suggestive for the early trade relations of Melos. Increased knowledge of Cretan fabrics has elucidated the influence of Crete upon the later Melian vases, and two varieties can now be distinguished, one apparently dating from the very end of the Mycenaean period. A clear distinction can now also be made between imported Mycenaean and imported Cretan vases. Thanks to the number of workers, and the slowness of the excavation, the utmost care was exercised in taking levels and noting the pottery found in each layer from top to bottom. The Director, Mr. Halliday, and Miss Lorimer, were present throughout, and so was Mr. Droop, except for one week spent at Sparta. Others who assisted either before or after Easter were Mr. Tillyard, Miss Lamb and Miss Tennant, while Mr. Thompson came for a week. Mr. W. J. Jones spent a fortnight, as architect, making the plan, and drawing some of the more important vases.

Mr. Hasluck, the Assistant Director, after spending the winter in Athens, made some preliminary investigations in the district of Thrace about Saranda-Ecclesies (Kirk Kilisse) which he hopes to explore more thoroughly hereafter. In April he accompanied Dr. Leaf in a tour in the Troad when, making the Dardanelles their headquarters, they spent five weeks in exploring first the Troad proper and afterwards the Hellespontine cities, including Lampsacus, Parium, Priapus, etc. Some new inscriptions were copied, some interesting local coins collected, and a new prehistoric site located at Iné.

Progress was made with the second volume of the School *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum* by Miss Lamb and Miss Tennant. Mr. Thompson made a journey from Salonica to Volo by land in order to examine some topographical points, and in Athens continued his researches on the early age in Thessaly.

It will be seen that the last year of the period under review shews the School in full activity and doing admirable work in a variety of fields.

II.

There are some points in connexion with the School which hardly come into the main narrative, and others which though already touched upon incidentally may be gathered into focus in the concluding sections of this brief history. These I propose to treat under separate headings.

ADMINISTRATION.

As already recorded a large and representative Committee was appointed at the original Marlborough House meeting, to take the necessary steps for the establishment of the School. An Executive Committee selected from this body was entrusted with the task of building the house in Athens, and of appealing to learned bodies and to individuals for the funds necessary to the maintenance of the School. To this Committee Professor Jebb and Mr. T. H. S. Escott acted as Hon. Secretaries, and Mr. Walter Leaf and Mr. George Macmillan as Assistant Hon. Secretaries, while Mr. Leaf also undertook the office of Treasurer. For a time Mr. James Gow, now Head Master of Westminster, also acted as an organizing Secretary in connexion with the appeal for funds, which was in those early days an arduous undertaking and met with but scanty encouragement. This Executive Committee made its first Report to the subscribers in October 1885, and was able to announce that the house in Athens had been built, and that Mr. Penrose had agreed to act as Director of the School for the first year. When the second Report of the Executive Committee was presented in October 1886, resolutions were proposed and carried dissolving the original Committees and appointing a Managing Committee which should consist (1) of the three Trustees of the School *ex officio*; (2) of the Treasurer, Hon. Secretary, and of five members to be appointed by the general body of subscribers; (3) of members to be nominated by each corporate body subscribing not less than £50 per annum towards the maintenance of the School. Full powers were given to the Managing Committee to appoint the Director on such terms as they might think fit, and to make all such rules and regulations as they might deem necessary for the management of the School. This step, as Professor Jebb said in moving the resolutions, marked the formal embodiment of the scheme which had been set on foot three years before. It may therefore be of interest to give the names of the first members of the new governing body. The three Trustees were Mr. J. T. Agg Gardner, M.P., Mr. Pandeli Ralli, and Mr. Charles Waring. The members of Committee were Professor Percy Gardner, Mr. John Gennadius, (Greek Minister in London), Professor Jebb, Sir Frederick Leighton,* and Mr. J. E. Sandys. The nominated members

* Lord Leighton maintained to the end his warm interest in the welfare of the School, and after his death this fact was recognized by a welcome donation of about £200 made to its funds in his memory by his sisters.

were Mr. D. B. Monro, Provost of Oriel, appointed by the University of Oxford, and Mr. Sidney Colvin, appointed by the Hellenic Society. The Treasurer was Mr. Leaf, and the Hon. Secretary Mr. George Macmillan. In the course of the next year the Managing Committee drew up the Rules and Regulations which form the Constitution of the School, setting forth the duties of the Director, the qualifications and responsibilities of Students, etc. Slight changes have since been introduced in these Rules as the result of experience, or to meet new developments such as the building of the Hostel, but broadly speaking the work done by the first Managing Committee has stood the test of time. Naturally the constitution of the Committee itself has undergone considerable change, but it may be noted that four of the original members are still serving, though not in the same capacity. The first Treasurer and Hon. Secretary are now Trustees, and one of them is Chairman of the Committee. Professor Percy Gardner now represents the University of Oxford, and Sir John Sandys represents the University of Cambridge, which acquired the right of nomination when in 1896 it began to subscribe £100 a year to the School funds. The continuity of tradition thus to some extent secured has been strengthened by the policy of inviting ex-Directors and ex-Students to join the Committee. Each retiring Director has been elected as a matter of course, and as every Director, with the exceptions of Mr. Penrose and Sir Cecil Smith, has previously been a Student, the Committee has had the advantage of their experience in both capacities. In the same way the posts of Treasurer and Secretary have been filled by former Students. When Mr. Macmillan resigned the Secretaryship after ten years' service he was succeeded by Mr. William Loring, who had done excellent work as a Student for three or four sessions, and when Mr. Loring also retired his place was taken by the present Secretary, Mr. Baker-Penoyre, who had been a Student. The close relations which have always existed with the Hellenic Society have been confirmed by the fact that Mr. Penoyre, like Mr. Macmillan before him, is also Secretary to that body, and the same applies to the British School at Rome, for not only is Mr. Penoyre Secretary to that School also, but several members of the Athenian Committee serve on the Roman. When Mr. Penoyre had leave of absence in the session 1906-7 his place as Secretary was temporarily filled by Miss Katherine Raleigh. The Treasurership of the School at Athens was held by Dr. Walter Leaf from its foundation until 1906. On his resignation he was appointed a Trustee, and a former Student, Mr. Vincent Yorke, undertook the office of Treasurer which he still holds. It should be added that some years ago it was thought best to strengthen the Committee by raising the number of members appointed by the subscribers from five to twelve.

THE STUDENTS.

Incidental reference has been made in the preceding narrative to the work of individual Students, especially in the matter of excavations, which have always played so prominent a part in the work of the School. But it has been impossible to

refer except occasionally to the studies and researches pursued by Students on their own account, and even here details can hardly be given. In the earlier years they contributed many valuable articles to the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. Since the establishment of the *Annual* its pages have to a large extent reflected the work, both corporate and individual, done in each session, and in connexion with the present anniversary a bibliography has been compiled by Mr. Baker-Penoyre and Miss Hutton which presents a striking record of books and articles published by former students, other than those which have appeared in the *Annual*. It may therefore perhaps be more interesting in this place to note the large number of Students who have risen to important posts either in the public service or in the educational profession. Thus Mr. Ernest Gardner, after his term of nine years as Director, became Yates Professor of Archaeology in the University of London. Mr. Hogarth is now Director of the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. Mr. Elsey Smith is Professor of Architecture in King's College, London. Mr. M. R. James, who assisted in the excavations in Cyprus, is now Provost of King's College, Cambridge. Mr. J. A. R. Munro is Fellow and Lecturer of Lincoln College, Oxford. Mr. Arnold Tubbs is Professor of Classics at University College, Auckland, New Zealand; while Mr. W. J. Woodhouse holds the Chair of Greek in the University of Sydney. Mr. William Loring, after serving in the Board of Education and as Director of Education in the West Riding of Yorkshire, is now Warden of Goldsmiths' College, New Cross. Mr. J. G. Milne, Mr. R. J. G. Mayor, and Mr. A. P. Oppé hold important office in the Board of Education. Mr. E. E. Sikes is Fellow and Tutor of St. John's College, Cambridge. Mr. H. Stuart Jones is Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, and was for a time Director of the British School at Rome. Mrs. S. Arthur Strong (*née* Miss Eugénie Sellers), the first lady student admitted as a Student of the School, is Assistant Director of the British School at Rome. Mr. J. L. Myres, after being Fellow of Magdalen College, Student and Tutor of Christchurch, and University Lecturer in Classical Archaeology, held the Chair of Greek in the University of Liverpool, and has now returned to Oxford as the first Wykeham Professor of Ancient History. Mr. Bosanquet is Professor of Archaeology in the University of Liverpool. Mr. Duncan Mackenzie, after assisting Sir Arthur Evans for many years in his Cretan excavations, is now Director of the Palestine Exploration Fund. Mr. C. C. Edgar is Inspector of Antiquities for Lower Egypt. Mr. J. G. C. Anderson, formerly Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, is now Student and Tutor of Christchurch. Mr. J. W. Crowfoot is Assistant Director of Education and Acting Curator of Antiquities in the Soudan. Mr. J. C. Lawson is Fellow and Lecturer of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Mr. J. H. Marshall is Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India. Mr. J. K. Fotheringham, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, is Lecturer in Ancient History in King's College, London. Mr. Baker-Penoyre is Secretary to the British Schools both in Athens and Rome, and to the Hellenic Society. Mr. J. H. Hopkinson is Warden of Hulme Hall and Lecturer in Classical Archaeology in the University of Manchester. Mr. Marcus

N. Tod is Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, and University Lecturer in Greek Epigraphy. Miss H. L. Lorimer is Classical Tutor of Somerville College, Oxford. Mr. C. T. Currelly is Director of the Royal Museum, Ontario. Mr. E. S. Forster is Lecturer in Greek in the University of Sheffield. Mr. Hasluck, now Assistant Director of the School, held a Fellowship in King's College, Cambridge. The present Director, Mr. Dawkins, is a Senior Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Mr. Wace is Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Mr. M. O. B. Caspari is Reader in Ancient History in the University of London. Mr. Guy Dickins is Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford. Mr. H. J. W. Tillyard is Lecturer in Greek in the University of Edinburgh. Miss G. M. A. Richter is Assistant Curator in the Department of Classical Antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Mr. A. C. B. Brown, after acting as a Lecturer in Classics in the University of Manchester, is now Fereday Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford. Mr. A. M. Woodward, Mr. H. Ormerod, Mr. W. R. Halliday and Mr. A. W. Gomme have recently obtained appointments in the Universities of Liverpool and Glasgow respectively. This is surely a remarkable record for the first twenty-five years of the School, and seems to establish the fact that the time spent in Athens and other Greek lands is not only pleasant in itself, but may open the way to useful and remunerative work hereafter. Another satisfactory feature as one glances through the list of Students is the number of men who have gone out for successive sessions ranging from two to as many as nine years. It may be added that the Honorary Studentship of the School has been conferred upon distinguished scholars who have from time to time availed themselves of its privileges for special research. These include Professor J. B. Bury, Sir Arthur Evans, Professor A. van Millingen and Mr. W. H. Forbes, while the same distinction has been given to Professor J. L. Myres, Professor Ernest Gardner, and Professor W. J. Woodhouse, formerly members of the School.

It may be added that the majority of the students have naturally been drawn from the two older Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, whether they came out as holders of the Craven and other University Studentships given for purposes of research, or with Fellowships or special grants from their respective colleges. Moreover, in order to draw yet closer the tie between the School and the Universities, it has been the practice of the Committee ever since 1886 to offer under prescribed conditions a Special Studentship to duly qualified members of the University. At first a School Studentship of £50 was offered annually to each University, but after a time it was found that the sum was not sufficient to cover the expenses involved, and accordingly for some years past a Studentship of £100 has been offered to Oxford and Cambridge respectively in alternate years. At Cambridge the nomination has been made by the Vice-Chancellor, at Oxford by the Committee of the Craven Fund. When we find that this School Studentship has been held in the earlier years by such men as Mr. Loring, Mr. W. J. Woodhouse, Mr. E. F. Benson, and Mr. Crowfoot, and more recently by Mr. Hasluck, Mr. Guy Dickins, and Mr. H. J. W. Tillyard, it will be seen that the action of the Committee in

maintaining it has been abundantly justified. The Royal Academy and the Royal Institute of British Architects have occasionally sent out Students, while the architectural side of the School work has been strengthened by the appointment to special Architectural Studentships of men qualified to undertake the planning, etc., required in excavations. Mr. Schultz in this way helped in the work at Megalopolis, and valuable service has been rendered likewise in this field by Mr. R. D. Wells, Mr. Charles Clark, Mr. T. D. Atkinson, Mr. Theodore Fyfe, Mr. Heaton Comyn, Mr. Ramsay Traquair, and Mr. Walter George, who are now for the most part well established in their profession.

THE DIRECTORS.

During the period under review the School has enjoyed the guidance of six Directors, to all of whom it owes a debt of gratitude. Mr. Penrose, who held office for the first session, brought to the infant institution the prestige of a European reputation won years before by his great work on the Principles of Athenian Architecture, and his devotion to the interests of the School, to which he paid three or four subsequent visits, remained as keen as ever to the end of his long life. His successor, Professor Ernest Gardner, bore the brunt of nine years of persistent struggle against financial difficulties, in spite of which he maintained a high standard of work alike in the field by the excavations in Cyprus, and at Megalopolis, and in the Museums of Athens. Professor Gardner also did excellent service to the School, by the special cruises which he organised at Easter in Greek waters, for a good many years after his term of office had expired. Sir Cecil Harcourt Smith, whose services were lent for the next two years by the Trustees of the British Museum, left a permanent memorial of his rule in the establishment of the Students' Hostel, and the School *Annual*, besides inaugurating the successful excavations in the island of Melos. Mr. Hogarth (1897-1900) brought his large experience as an explorer to bear upon the work in Melos, at Naucratis, and in Crete. Mr. Carr Bosanquet's six years' term of office (1900-1906) was marked by ceaseless activity. He came into office with the great advantage of having already spent no fewer than eight sessions at the School as a Student under three Directors, while he had acted as Assistant Director to Mr. Hogarth in the previous year. He was therefore thoroughly familiar with work in the field, as well as with the requirements of Students in Athens. During his Directorship the work in Crete, at Palaikastro and elsewhere, was carried through from its inception to its successful conclusion. He also superintended the opening of the general survey work in Laconia and of the excavations at Sparta. The Archaeological Congress at Athens occurred during his term of office, and he took an active part in the arrangements for this successful meeting, as later for the Olympic Games. He was fortunate too in gathering round him some very promising archaeologists whom he inspired with his own infectious enthusiasm. It was from the ranks of these Students that his successor was chosen in Mr. R. M. Dawkins, who had already spent four sessions at the School, and

done excellent work both at Palaikastro and at Sparta, besides having made extensive travels after each session which had given him exceptional knowledge both of modern Greek life and of ancient survivals of language and custom in the less-known parts of the Levant. These travels and researches he has pursued with unremitting zeal since he became Director, while during the sessions from 1906 onwards he has thrown equal energy into the direction of the work at Sparta, where the excavations have been conducted with a care and skill which may be regarded as a model of archaeological science. During the past session he has superintended the excavations at Phylakopi which were intended to supplement the results of the previous work, especially in the light of the fuller knowledge now accessible of Crete and the mainland of Greece. Mr. Dawkins has now been granted a year's leave of absence, during which, however, he will conduct the proposed excavations at Datcha. In the meantime the Directorship of the School will be in the capable hands of Mr. Hasluck, who has acted as Assistant Director since 1906.

PUBLICATIONS.

The publications which have resulted from the work of the School have been incidentally referred to in the main narrative, but it may be convenient here to give a summary list and also to dwell in some detail upon the increasingly important part played by the *Annual* as a substantial record of the work of the last fifteen sessions. During the first ten years the work of the School supplied many valuable papers to the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, including the preliminary reports of the excavations in Cyprus, and at Megalopolis, and that *Journal* still publishes special articles by its members.

The books for which the School may claim a share of credit include Dr. Frazer's Commentary on Pausanias; Messrs. Schultz and Barnsley's illustrated monograph on the Monastery of St. Luke at Stiris; Mr. W. J. Woodhouse's Researches in Aetolia; the volumes on the Excavations at Megalopolis, and at Phylakopi, published by the Hellenic Society; the Catalogue of the Museum at Sparta compiled by Messrs. Tod and Wace and published by the Clarendon Press; Mr. Hasluck's monograph on Cyzicus published by the Cambridge University Press. Other publications now in hand or in contemplation include the record of the Excavations at Palaikastro, and at Sparta; the Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum in Athens; and a book on Northern Greece which is being prepared by Messrs. Wace and Thompson.

The School may also claim a part in the monograph on the Churches of Constantinople, which is shortly to be published by its distinguished Honorary Student, Professor van Millingen, inasmuch as a grant was made from its funds towards the cost of the drawings, which have from time to time been made for the book by three of its Students, Mr. A. E. Henderson, Mr. R. Traquair, and Mr. Walter George.

Coming now to the *Annual*, special thanks should be given to Sir Arthur Evans for allowing the preliminary results of his excavations at Knossos to be published in successive volumes. These communications, which were of world-wide interest, reached the *Annual* when it was still in its infancy, and did much to give it its present assured position among archaeological periodicals. Mr. Hogarth's work at Knossos, at the Diktean Cave, and at Zakro was also recorded in the *Annual*. Here too, have naturally been recorded from year to year the excavations undertaken by the School in Melos, in Crete, and in Laconia. The results at Phylakopi in Melos were afterwards, as has been stated above, gathered up in a separate volume, and similar volumes are contemplated for Palaikastro and Sparta. But in the case of the excavations undertaken at Naucratis during Mr. Hogarth's Directorship the final record appeared in the *Annual*.

The *Annual* has also published the results of the successive excavations undertaken in Thessaly, Boeotia, and other parts of Northern Greece, and its pages have reflected the extensive travels and researches of Mr. Hasluck and Mr. Dawkins as well as the occasional work of the same kind done by other Students. Among articles of a more general character, special mention is due to the remarkable papers on 'Cretan Palaces and the Aegean Civilisation' by Mr. Duncan Mackenzie, and to the two articles on Damophon of Messene by Mr. Guy Dickins, which for the first time established the position of this artist among Greek sculptors. Important inscriptions have been published from time to time by Mr. Tod, Mr. Woodward and others. Mention should also be made of Mr. Droop's article on early classes of vases. Architecture has been represented by contributions from Messrs. Heaton Comyn, H. M. Fletcher, S. D. Kitson, and Ramsay Traquair, while Mr. C. H. Hawes and Mr. W. L. H. Duckworth have written on Anthropology. Occasional contributions have been received from scholars not directly associated with the School, including Professor Boyd Dawkins, Professor J. B. Bury, Professor R. S. Conway, Mr. H. R. Hall, Sir W. M. Ramsay, Mons. P. F. Perdrizet, and Herr A. Wilhelm. Mr. Woodward's complete index to the sixteen published volumes of the *Annual* is now in the press. In the opinion of the editors it will prove to be a work of conspicuous accuracy and usefulness.

The editing of the periodical for practically the first fourteen volumes was under the capable supervision of Sir Cecil Smith, to whose initiative it was originally due, the responsibility for collecting the material being undertaken by successive Directors. For the last two years Miss C. A. Hutton, a former Student of the School, who had for some time assisted Sir Cecil Smith in the editing, has undertaken the duties of Editor with the help of an advisory Committee, consisting of Sir Cecil Smith, Mr. Hogarth, and Mr. M. N. Tod.

THE LIBRARY.

It is evident that to such an institution as the School at Athens a good reference library is of the first importance, and this fact was recognized from the first. At the outset valuable grants of books were made by the two University Presses and by many firms of publishers, and in the earlier years, apart from the notable accessions already mentioned from Sir Charles Newton and the Finlay Trustees, valuable gifts in money or kind came from individual donors, such as Miss Jane Harrison, Mr. Warde Fowler, and many others. The Committee laid it down in their first regulations that the maintenance of the library was to have first claim on the revenues of the School after the requirements of the School building and the Director's salary had been met. During Sir Cecil Smith's Directorship a conference was held of the Directors of all foreign Schools with a view to some agreement as to the line in which each library might specialize so as to minimize the duplication of certain classes of books. It was then decided that the British School should endeavour to make as complete a collection as possible of the travels and researches in Greece and Greek lands of British explorers and archaeologists. This object has been steadily pursued with a large measure of success. There was also an understanding, in the case of very expensive works, that as far as possible the purchase of more than one copy should be avoided, and opportunity given to all foreign Students to study such works in whichever library they might happen to be. Such co-operation among the Schools is clearly of advantage to all, and has helped to maintain friendly relations between them.

The library was originally placed in a large room in the Director's house and was under his personal management. As time went on and the collection grew, and especially after the Finlay Library came to be placed in the Hostel, the care of the library was undertaken by one of the senior Students. Mr. Tod, who was Assistant Director from 1903-5, also acted as Librarian and rendered invaluable service in arranging the books in the new Penrose Library. Mr. H. J. W. Tillyard, who assisted him during the session 1904-5 while the books were in process of removal, was appointed Librarian for the following session and did admirable work. Since Mr. Dawkins became Director in 1906 the library has been under the capable control of Mr. F. W. Hasluck, whose great knowledge of bibliography and wide range of interest have been of the utmost service.

Generous gifts have been made to the library from time to time not only, as has been said, by the University Presses and other publishers but also by such public bodies as the Trustees of the British Museum, the Indian Government (who presented a complete set of the Archaeological Survey of India), and the Greek Archaeological Society, while not a year has passed without welcome contributions from individual friends of the School. When the Penrose Library was opened the Greek Archaeological Society presented a bust of Mr. Penrose by a native artist, Mr. Bonanos, while Professor Jebb's long and intimate connexion with the School is fitly marked by the beautiful Greek elegiacs of his composition which are inscribed on memorial tablets in the Penrose and Finlay Libraries.

PUBLIC MEETINGS.

The Annual Meeting of Subscribers to the School has from the first played an important part in keeping its work under the public eye, and the Committee have been fortunate in obtaining the services as Chairmen at the meetings of a remarkable series of men eminent in every department of public life, while the addresses delivered from the chair form a notable tribute to the national importance of the objects for which the School was founded. In the early days the chair was occupied by Bishop Lightfoot; Sir Charles Newton, always a warm friend and helpful adviser; the late Lord Carnarvon, who presided on two occasions and was always ready to use his influence on behalf of the School; the late Lord Herschell; Lord Justice Bowen; the Marquis of Bute, who supported liberally the work done by Students on Byzantine architecture; Archbishop Benson, whose son, Mr. E. F. Benson, was a Student for several sessions. Following on these came Lord Lingen, Mr. John Morley (now Viscount Morley of Blackburn), Mr. Asquith, Sir William Anson, Bishop Creighton, the present Bishop of Bristol, Dr. Thomas Hodgkin, and Sir Robert Finlay. Within the last few years Lord Halsbury and Lord Cromer have presided, while from time to time the chair has been occupied by scholars more intimately concerned in the work of the School, including Sir Richard Jebb, Professor S. H. Butcher, Professor Percy Gardner, Professor Gilbert Murray, and Sir Cecil Harcourt-Smith. On the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the School the Committee have found a worthy successor to this distinguished roll in the present Dean of Westminster, Dr. Herbert Ryle.

A word should be said also of the Open Meetings of the School in Athens which have from the first taken place three or four times in each session, and have given opportunity to the Director and Students to read papers on special points of research or on matters of current interest in the work of the School. These meetings are largely attended by residents in Athens, including members of the other foreign Schools.

THE BRITISH LEGATION IN ATHENS.

No account of the School would be complete without reference to the friendly relations which it has enjoyed since its foundation with the successive British Ministers in Athens. These include Sir Horace Rumbold, Sir Francis Clare Ford, Sir Edmund Monson, Sir Edwin Egerton, and the present Minister, Sir Francis Elliott. From each and all of these, as well as from other members of the Legation, the School has received valuable help, a special debt of gratitude being due, as the preceding narrative has shown, to Sir Edwin Egerton for the part he played in 1895 in advocating the Government grant, and in bringing about the meeting at St. James's Palace. Sir Francis Elliott, who succeeded him and has now spent many years in Athens, has always been ready to give all the assistance and advice in his power.

OTHER FRIENDS OF THE SCHOOL.

Among these the first place must be given to his late Majesty King Edward VII. who, as has been already recorded, gave the School its first start, and again at a critical period renewed his powerful influence in its favour. Together with Queen Alexandra he paid several visits to the School and always took a lively interest in its welfare.

The Greek Royal Family and the Greek Government have also earned the gratitude of all supporters of the School by their constant sympathy and interest in its work. The grant of the excellent site upon which the Director's house and afterwards the Hostel were built, gave the School a splendid start. Ever since, successive Ministers, and especially M. Kavvadias, who so long held office as Ephor-General of Antiquities, have always been ready to grant facilities for excavation, and to help the work of the School in other ways. The School has also received much friendly help and encouragement from the Directors and members of the other foreign Institutes in Athens, and among these a special debt of gratitude is due to Dr. Wilhelm Dörpfeld who has for so many years presided over the German Institute, and has always been ready to welcome the British students to his inspiring and instructive lectures.

Acknowledgment should also be made of the constant and valuable support given to the School in the press, and especially in the *Times* and the *Morning Post*. The *Times* has published many leading articles calling attention to the work of the School and urging its claims to public support, while in their distinguished correspondent in the Balkan Peninsula, Mr. J. D. Bouchier, the School has always found a staunch and helpful friend. Thanks are due also to Mr. William Miller, of the *Morning Post*, for much welcome encouragement. The *Builder*, under the enlightened guidance of Mr. H. H. Statham, has shown unflagging interest in the welfare and achievements of the School, while the successive volumes of the *School Annual* have received sympathetic treatment not only in the papers mentioned, but also in the *Manchester Guardian*, *Nature*, the *Saturday Review*, and other leading periodicals. Neither should it be forgotten that it was Mr. T. H. S. Escott, as Editor of the *Fortnightly Review*, who not only published Professor Jebb's 'Plea for a British Institute in Athens,' but also found means of bringing it under the notice of the Prince of Wales, whose action in calling a meeting at Marlborough House led directly to the realization of the scheme.

THE SCHOOL AND THE TRAVELLING PUBLIC.

It was from the first intended that the School, besides giving every possible facility for study and research to those who could devote time to such objects, should also serve as a centre of information and guidance to the passing traveller. This object has been kept steadily in view, and successive Directors and members of the School have willingly placed their knowledge and experience at the disposal both of individual visitors to Athens, and of organized parties

such as those formerly conducted by Professor Ernest Gardner, and those more recently made up by those responsible for the Easter cruises of the *Argonaut*, the *Dunnottar Castle*, and occasional vessels of the Orient Line. Many hundreds of English men and women must thus during the last quarter of a century have profited by such expert advice and assistance as the School is so able and ready to afford. And, indeed, many have shown their gratitude in a practical form by contributions to the School funds. Since the Penrose Library was opened in the Hostel the use of it has been offered freely to all Subscribers, and to any other properly accredited visitor. This privilege, carrying with it the guidance of a very competent librarian, has been highly valued, and has led not infrequently to welcome gifts of books.

CONCLUSION.

In bringing to a close this brief and, I fear, imperfect sketch of the History of the School during the first twenty-five years of its existence, I cannot do better than quote the words used by our founder, Sir Richard Jebb, when in 1901 he presided at the Annual Meeting of Subscribers.

‘To-day,’ he said ‘the British School at Athens is an institution which all Englishmen who care at all for such studies can contemplate with just satisfaction. It is a School which the patient energies of successive Directors, and the loyal work of successive students, have carried through a time of trial to the stage of assured success; a School which has earned the recognition of the State, as rendering public service by contributing to the advancement of knowledge, and by upholding the credit of this country in the peaceful and friendly rivalries of international effort; a School which, as we can now say with confident hope, has before it a future of even increased usefulness and distinction.’

Ten years have passed since these eloquent words were uttered, and we may surely claim that in the interval the School has lost nothing in efficiency and prestige. We, too, believe that its future will be worthy of its past, and we trust that when our successors meet to celebrate its Jubilee they will look back upon its achievements with no less satisfaction than we may justly feel, who have watched over its fortunes during its infancy, and have helped, so far as in us lay, to place it in its present assured position.

GEORGE A. MACMILLAN.

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THE EXCAVATIONS AT PHYLAKOPI IN MELOS.

(PLATES I-XIV.)

§ I.—INTRODUCTION.

IN the spring of 1910 the work which had engaged the School at Sparta since 1906 was brought to an end, and it was decided to devote a season to a supplementary excavation at the prehistoric site of Phylakopi in Melos, the scene of the School's activity from 1896 to 1899.¹ These dates are of some significance; the work in Crete, which has revolutionised our ideas of the Bronze Age in the Aegean, was only begun in 1900 with the first work at Knossos, and on the mainland of Greece the recent work of the German Institute at Tiryns, the Greek and German work at Chaironea and Orchomenos in Boiotia, and the prehistoric researches in Thessaly and North Greece, first of Tsountas at Dimini and Sesklo and later, over a much enlarged field, of Mr. Wace and his colleagues, had none of them been even begun when the first excavation at Phylakopi was closed in 1899.² It was in fact the first important prehistoric excavation in Greece since the death of Schliemann. Few comparisons with other sites were therefore possible; the results of the work of Schliemann and of his successors at Mycenae and the researches in the Cyclades published by Tsountas³ were the main guides for Mr. Edgar in his pioneer work on the pottery from Phylakopi. How great

¹ Published in a series of preliminary reports in volumes of this *Annual*, and finally in the volume called *Phylakopi*.

² Wace and Thompson's *Prehistoric Thessaly* gives a full description of recent prehistoric researches in North Greece.

³ Κυκλαδικά, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1898, p. 137 and 1899, p. 73 with plates.

a flood of light was shortly to be thrown on Melos first appeared in Dr. Mackenzie's chapter in the Phylakopi book, 'The successive settlements at Phylakopi in their Aegeo-Cretan Relations,' which was written after the experience of four seasons at Knossos, and when the excavation of most of the famous sites in Crete (Phaistos, Gournià, Zakro and Palaikastro) had been at all events begun. Even without any fresh excavation it would have been possible with our present knowledge to do a good deal for the Phylakopi evidence by instituting comparisons with these more recently excavated sites on the basis afforded by the old material and the published records, but naturally a supplementary campaign, which should give the opportunity of judging new material as it came to light, was much to be preferred. The site had been by no means exhausted; in many parts the work had gone no further than the upper strata, and other regions had been entirely untouched. It was thus possible to select a small unexcavated area, and to dig it right down to the rock upon which the lowest houses are built, passing in this way through all the strata described in the Phylakopi publication, and taking a fresh review of the ceramic history of the site. The result of this work is the subject of the present report, which lays especial stress upon the question of the foreign relations of prehistoric Melos as indicated by the pottery, native and imported, found on the site.

It will be convenient before dealing with these points to give a general account of the excavation and to describe a series of intramural pithos-burials of infants, perhaps the most interesting of our results. At the end of the report is a section (§ 6) on the native burnished wares, and with them a few Melian pre-Mycenaean vases, which are worthy of publication on their own merits, but belong to a class adequately treated in the Phylakopi book, and do not therefore add anything to our general knowledge of the site and its external relations. In another section (§ 7) the miscellaneous finds are described. It will naturally be understood that, just as the excavation itself was a supplement to the earlier work, so this report is to be read as an appendix to the earlier publication.

§ 2.—THE EXCAVATION.

The work began on the 30th March and lasted, with the usual interval for Easter until the 30th of May. The maximum number of

workmen employed was about forty. The party consisted of the Director, Mr. J. P. Droop, Miss Lorimer, and Mr. W. R. Halliday, who were present throughout, Mr. L. B. Tillard, who remained until Easter, and Miss Lamb and Miss Tennant, who came after Easter, and stayed until the end. Mr. M. S. Thompson paid a visit towards the end of the season, when Mr. W. J. P. Jones also came as architect, to draw the plans which accompany this report. He also made a series of water-colour drawings of vases, some of which are reproduced on Pls. II. and III. By the kindness of the Athenian authorities of the German Archaeological Institute, we had the services of their veteran foreman Evangelis Kosmopoulos; as mender we again had Ioannes Katsarakis from Palaikastro. The photographs were taken by Herr Röhrer, the photographer of the German Archaeological Institute. It is a pleasure to thank the Greek Archaeological authorities for their support; in Athens the Ephor Dr. Leonardos, and in Melos Dr. Stavropoulos the Ephor of the Cyclades, and the local representative of the government, Dr. Aristides Papaioannou, Scholarch of Melos, whose firmness in dealing with the claims of the proprietors of the site was of the greatest assistance. The objects found are to remain in Melos and form the nucleus of a local Museum in the town.

A few words may be given to describing the method of work. The successive settlements and general nature and topography of the site having been worked out by our predecessors, our special aim was to record as accurately as possible the sequence and relations of the different kinds of pottery which should appear in succession, as the work was pushed downwards from the surface deposits to the lowest and oldest strata. To mark the horizontal distribution on such a site, the walls of the houses form divisions both convenient in themselves and also imposed upon the excavator by the nature of the site. They were therefore adopted, the rooms numbered and the sherds, after being washed, arranged in rows of heaps, each row being from a given room. The only practical difficulty in this was that the rooms varied in shape, number and position as the digging proceeded from one stratum of walls to the next; a certain amount of re-numbering was therefore necessary from time to time. But in order to record the exact position of objects, a system of vertical divisions is also necessary, and here the successive floor-levels, the extreme importance of which has now become a commonplace, supply a certain

number of natural limits. At Phylakopi the floors were made of clay, and their levels are therefore scarcely to be determined but by certain accompanying signs: the pottery may become very frequent and whole vases be found, these having been left in the room when it passed out of use; or again the pottery may suddenly become rare, or change in character, which means that a floor-level has been passed. Further signs are a change in the colour of the earth or in the position or character of the walls. But, apart from the fact that a room may have been empty when it was deserted, the study of the pottery found on floor-levels cannot yield the whole of the evidence. Quite as valuable information is to be gained from regions in which sherds have been allowed to accumulate gradually, and this can only be gathered by the use of arbitrary levels, that is, by keeping apart the sherds from successive layers of earth, the thickness of which is fixed simply by convenience. An average thickness this year was a foot or rather over; more, if the sherds were scarce, less, if they were frequent or seemed to change in character at all rapidly. If a floor-level appeared it would of course be taken as a line of division between two layers: the floor-levels in their relation to the wall, are in fact the evidence upon which the relation of the series of pottery to the successive cities can be worked out. A levelling instrument was in constant use to mark the succession of these layers and to keep them even; on such a sloping site it is of course plain that these observations of levels could have no further use. Finally, the sherds from each room were laid in a row of heaps according to their levels, and their nature recorded in a special book, and it is on these very numerous observations that the conclusions of this report are based.

The first fortnight of the campaign was devoted to an examination of the deposits below the floor of the palace, and to an attempt to find more of the primitive incised ware found in the first excavation in the square marked on the plan as **J I**.¹ Neither of these undertakings led to any positive result. Below the palace, instead of any earlier building of the same sort, nothing was found except successive layers of walls of unimportant houses, differing in no respect from those found everywhere on the site, and the primitive pottery was sought in vain in a pit sunk in **J I 6**, although this lay exactly between **J I 9** and **J I 3**, where it had

¹ All positions in this report are indicated by the numbers and letters of the squares and rooms on the plan published in *Phylakopi*, Pl. II. The palace is in Square **J 2**.

been found in the first excavation.¹ A few more trial pits were made on the highest part of the site in **D 3**, and also in the low-lying region to the west (**K 3** and **L 3**), but none of these seemed worth following up, and after Easter we turned to the main work of the season, which was to occupy us for the next five weeks until the excavation was closed at the end of May. This was the clearing of the area to the north of the eastern stretch of the wall of the city, which falls in the squares **G 4**, **G 5**, **H 4**, and **H 5**. A glance at the plans in the Phylakopi book will shew that this region of about 3600 square metres was hardly touched in the old excavation. One deep trial pit however, was made which shewed that there was a metre of empty supersoil above the highest remains, and the underlying strata were regarded as very promising.² This verdict has been confirmed by the results now obtained.

The surface of the area thus chosen was fairly flat, and bounded to the south and east by sharp downward slopes, and on the north and west running up towards the higher parts of the town. It had therefore every appearance of being what it proved in fact to be, an artificial terrace; its formation however, dated from long after the desertion of the site, and may very well be comparatively recent. In consequence of this terracing, the remains to the north, where the ground is naturally higher, are less well preserved than elsewhere, and of the walls of the third city, which form the uppermost stratum, only comparatively little remains, and that immediately below the surface, whilst, where the ground originally sloped down towards the south, a great deal of new soil has been introduced, and the uppermost remains are overlaid by as much as a metre-and-a-half of empty earth. This has preserved the remains excellently, and in **H 5 1** at the extreme south-eastern corner of the area, the rock with the foundations of the lowest walls resting upon it was as much as eight metres below the surface, the thickness of the archaeological strata being thus six-and-a-half metres.

It will be remembered that in the old excavation the superimposed remains of three successive cities were found, and below these again, the traces of a still earlier settlement, with which however, no walls could be associated. All were shewn to belong to the Bronze Age, and, in spite of the architectural changes pointing to more or less thorough rebuildings of the city, no break in the continuous development of the culture was observed.

¹ *Phylakopi*, p. 82, § 2, and p. 240.

² *Phylakopi*, p. 23.

These results were confirmed by this year's work, and it is therefore not necessary to do more than allude to them in passing. The plans now published on Pl. I. shew these three strata of remains, the first and second cities being distinguished by the hatching of the walls, and the third or uppermost city drawn out separately.

The retention of the system of numbered and lettered twenty-metre squares, which was used for dividing up the large plans in the Phylakopi book, will enable the reader to fix the position of the new excavation on the general plan of the city.

On the southern limit of the plans is seen the inner face of the easternmost part of the town wall; we were prevented from making any search for its outward face by the same difficulty with which the first excavators had to contend: the refusal of the proprietor to allow any earth to be thrown upon the field to the south between the town and the modern road. The steady refusal of this permission, which would have saved us a good deal of labour and at the same time greatly improved the miserable fields, compelled us to throw everything over the cliff into the sea, and so waste a great deal of excellent and much needed earth.

The two streets running in a parallel direction east and west form another feature of the plan; a comparison with the earlier work shews that they are the continuations of streets already found, the northern, of the street running through the southern part of squares **D 3**, **E 3** and **F 3**, and the southern, of the street marked **E 4 18** and **F 4 10**, of which only a small piece was then uncovered. The persistence of these streets throughout the three periods of the city is a further argument, if any were needed, for the continuous habitation of Phylakopi. A narrow lane of this sort would not have retained its exact position after any lengthy desertion of the site.

In view of the treatment in the Phylakopi book, none of the houses now excavated demand any detailed description.

§ 3.—INTRAMURAL TOMBS OF INFANTS.

In several places near the city remains of numerous rock-cut tombs exist, and it would appear from the prevalence of the local Geometric among the fragments of pottery picked up near them during the old

excavation, that they belong in great measure to the end of the First and the beginning of the Second City.¹ These tombs had all been robbed, and therefore no bones were found ; if they had been undisturbed, it is now safe to say that at least all those with Geometric vases would have proved to be the tombs of adults, for a series of burials of children of this period has now been found, which shews a curious difference between the methods of disposing of the adult and of the infant dead.

On the surface of the rock, upon which the foundations of the houses of the lowest stratum rest, there were found a number of shallow basin-like depressions, in which large pithoi were lying. Probably owing to the hardness of the rock these holes were not more than at most a foot deep, and the pithoi are consequently only partially sunk in them. Each contained the skeleton of a young child, some old enough for the second teeth to be beginning to appear, but in no case for them to be complete. The pithoi were found lying horizontally, and in two cases (Nos. 206, 207, 255, 256, Pls. IV, V) the mouth had been closed by a basin, as is shewn in the drawing in Fig. I, which is from a sketch, taken on the spot, of Nos. 255 and 256. In one case, that of the pithos with a geometrical pattern in white paint (No. 183) shewn on Pl. IV, it was possible to ascertain the original position of the body. The skull was near the mouth, and the leg-bones at the bottom of the pithos; the body, lying on its left side, was in a contracted position with the knees drawn up. Contrary to the usual rule a few objects were found in this case with the bones: two teeth either of a sheep or goat, a knuckle-bone, two pieces of limpet-shell and a piece of the skull of some small animal.

Eight in all of these burials were found, the majority being in **H 4 18**; their position is marked on the plan (Pl. I) by small crosses. There was also one in **H 4 21**, the pithos being No. 65 on Pl. V, and near it several other small holes in the rock, but all empty. The two pithoi on Pl. IV, Nos. 209 and 258, give the type of the remaining four; they are unpainted vessels with somewhat thin walls standing upon small spreading feet. The other vases shewn in the row above No. 65 on Pl. V are examples of the contemporary ware with geometric patterns in lustrous paint.²

Although the pithoi themselves contained practically nothing but the

¹ They have been described in *Phylakopi*, pp. 234-237.

² *Phylakopi*, pp. 96 ff. § 6, and Pls. VII-X.

bones, a number of vases were found in **H 4 18** in such close proximity to them, that it is practically certain that they were placed there at the time of the burial. Their unbroken condition, in remarkable contrast to the shattered state of the pottery found in the rooms, also supports this view. They are decorated, like the burial pithoi on Pls. IV and V, with geometric patterns in lustrous black or dull white paint in a style which points to the closing period of the First City. The whole series (Nos. 116, 160, 164, 165, 169, 170, 212 and 259) is shewn with some other examples

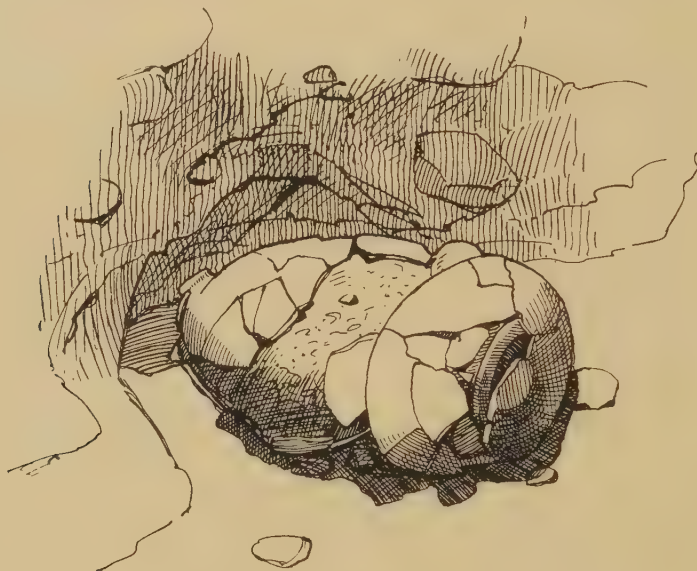


FIG. 1.—SKETCH OF PITHOS BURIAL.

of the same class on Pl. VI. The spouted vessel No. 165, which was lying by the painted pithos No. 183 is interesting: it seems to be a child's feeding-cup; possibly the one that it had used in life, but more probably a new one devoted to the service of the dead child in the other world.

One example of these burials was found in the old excavation, and was rightly claimed by its finder Dr. Mackenzie as a case of intramural sepulture in the period of the First City, but it would have been going further than the evidence of a single discovery warranted to say, as we now may, that it was the custom at this time to bury young hildren inside the

houses, but adults outside the city.¹ The pithoi were all badly broken by the pressure of the earth, but it was possible to mend the six examples shewn on Pls. IV and V.

This report is not the place for a long discussion of this curious custom. Two other instances from prehistoric Greece are quoted in the note: the early Roman practice of burying babies in *loculi* under the eaves of the houses is another interesting parallel.² The Roman custom however, was confined to infants dying before forty days, and we have seen that the Melian children were much older than this. The origin of the custom has been sought for in the idea that by keeping the body of a dead child in the house, its soul would more easily be born again into the family, and in a second life, be more fortunate.

§ 4.—MELOS AND CRETE (*Middle Minoan to Late Minoan II Pottery*).

The trade connexion between Melos and Crete, which is proved as early as the Neolithic period by the presence of Melian obsidian in Crete, is not indicated by the presence of Cretan vases at Phylakopi before the beginning of the Middle Minoan age. The suggestion that the lustrous glaze Geometric ware was imported and not native, has not been supported by later evidence,³ and of the Cretan pottery with light-on-dark geometric patterns of the Early Minoan III period, which was first observed at Vasiliki near Gournià, only one sherd was found, and even this is not entirely certain.⁴ The finds of polychrome Kamares ware on the other hand though small in comparison with the mass of local pottery, were frequent and well distributed over the site. About seventy per cent. of the

¹ Recorded in *Phylakopi*, p. 15, where Mr. Hogarth quotes Dr. Stais ('Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1895, pp. 227 ff.) for a similar practice in some pre-Mycenaean houses in Aegina, and mentions his own discovery of such a burial in a house, probably of the Kamares period, at Knossos (*B.S.A.* vi. p. 77).

² *Suggrundarium: the grave of a child less than forty days old*, which was a niche in a wall, covered by a projecting roof or eaves. Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*. A quotation from Fulgentius, *Expositio Sermonum antiquorum*, p. 550, follows.

³ Dr. Mackenzie in *Phylakopi*, p. 249.

⁴ Some light-on-dark Geometric fragments in the Athens Museum look very like this Cretan Early Minoan III ware, but their identity is not certain. Two of them are shewn in *Phylakopi*, Pl. X. 18, 19. For Crete, see *B.S.A.* x, p. 199, Fig. 2, from Palaikastro, and Miss Hall's App. E to Mrs. Boyd-Hawes' *Gournià*, p. 57.

total amount found came from levels in which pottery of the native Geometric style predominated; of the rest, the greater part was found with the pre-Mycenaean Melian ware, as we prefer to call the Early Mycenaean with curvilinear designs in matt black of Mr. Edgar's classification, whilst a certain amount was found amongst later fabrics in strata which had probably been disturbed.¹

This association with Geometric and local pre-Mycenaean pottery shews that it was imported in the early and middle periods of the Second City, and the new evidence agrees with Dr. Mackenzie's original conclusions: 'Thus the Cretan polychrome ware appears in early floor-deposits of the Second City at a time when Geometric ware is still current, though the transition to curvilinear design is in process of being accomplished.'²

A certain number of sherds with light-on-dark designs were found, which seemed to be local imitations of this Middle Minoan Cretan pottery. Thus No. 210 is a native vase which both in shape and technique closely imitates the broken Cretan vase No. 148 shewn with it on Pl. VII. Apparently however, few such vases were made; nor was any other colour than white ever employed, as so often in Cretan work of this style; it was only later that the Melian potter was led by emulation or driven in self-defence, to imitate the gayer colours of Cretan vase-painting. At the same time the pre-Mycenaean Melian ware shews some traces of the influence of Cretan Middle Minoan vases. Kamares patterns, carried out of course in the native matt black paint instead of the original Cretan light-on-dark technique, are borrowed, the Cretan hole-mouth jar appears and the shapes in general shew the same traces of metallic forms.³

Before passing on to the later Cretan styles as they are found at Phylakopi, it is necessary to point out that, although the distinction drawn by Mr. Edgar between 'Black and Red' and the later 'Red and Black' ware was sound as far as it went, it misses, as at that time was almost inevitable, the essential difference between them, which is that the 'Red and Black' was a conscious imitation of Cretan ware, whilst the 'Black and Red,' though perhaps influenced by the polychrome art of the Middle Minoan potter, remained within the limits of the native Melian tradition.

¹ Some of these pre-Mycenaean vases are shown on Pl. XIII.

² *Phylakopi*, p. 260.

³ Such borrowed patterns are shewn in *Phylakopi*, Pl. XVIII, 1, 12 and 21; for metallic forms see *ibid.* p. 113, Figs. 85-87.

The local character of this earlier ware was made quite clear by Mr. Edgar: it is a development of the pre-Mycenaean Melian curvilinear design in matt black marked by the addition, as a subsidiary colour, of red which is generally burnished to a lustre, this also being an inheritance from an earlier native technique, the red lustre ware. Nor do the designs, examples of which are shewn on Pls. XX and XXI of the Phylakopi book, owe anything to the neighbouring island; they clearly follow on from the pre-Mycenaean Melian (Mr. Edgar's Early Mycenaean) of Pls. XIV—XIX.

The chronological relation between the two wares observed at the previous excavation was fully confirmed this year: only a small number of 'Black and Red' sherds were found with the 'Red and Black'; the majority came from the lower strata, where the pre-Mycenaean Melian predominated with an admixture of Cretan Middle Minoan and even of Geometric ware, and it is probable that the bulk of this fabric belongs to the period before the great demand for Cretan vases and their imitations.

The later of these two fabrics, the 'Red and Black' ware, represents a very different tendency. It is not too much to say that the bulk of these vases betray an attempt to imitate the polychrome effect of the Cretan Late Minoan I pottery, with its bands of decoration in reddish-brown paint picked out with white on the ground of buff slip, often varied with patterns in white on solid bands of the dark paint laid on between the dark-on-light patterns.¹ The finest examples found this year are reproduced on Pl. VIII (Nos. 48, 127, 78, 91), Pl. IX (No. 182) and in colour on Pl. III (No. 87); similar vases from the old excavation are published in the Phylakopi book on Pls. XXV and XXVII. The monochrome painting into which this style degenerated is shewn by No. 106 on Pl. VIII and in colour in two vases (Nos. 174 and 53) on Pl. II. Before dealing in detail with the patterns, the Cretan character of most of the shapes may be noticed. This is especially striking in the case of the two-handled spouted jars (Nos. 1, 153 and 87), the spouted can (No. 78) and the one-handled mugs and bowls (Nos. 48, 127 and 106).

The Cretan origin of the decoration betrays itself with the same clearness. Here however the Melian vase-painter, in making his imitation of the Cretan Late Minoan I patterns with their brilliant synthesis of the

For a few examples see Seager, *Mochlos*, Pl. XI; from Zakro, *J.H.S.* xxii, Pl. XII, 2 and 3; Boyd-Hawes, *Gournià*, Pls. VII-IX, F, I-K.

dark-on-light and light-on-dark styles, was saved from any slavish copying by his technical limitations; he did not use white paint, nor could he produce the brilliant lustre of the Cretan glaze. The white lines and dots or even more elaborate patterns in white on the broad bands of glaze-paint, and the cluster of white dots on the disc of glaze at the centre of the spiral, both characteristic devices of the Cretan Late Minoan I potter, were therefore impossible for him. Their variegated effect however, he was to some extent able to secure; in the first case by substituting a band of black cross-hatching, and in the second by leaving an open space at the centre of the spiral and putting in it a large black dot surrounded by a circle of smaller ones. In each case the black paint on the light colour of the clay produced, by its contrast with the semi-lustrous red paint in which the main decoration was carried out, an effect if less brilliant, yet of distinctly the same kind as that of the Cretan vases. This cross-hatching is used chiefly on large vases such as No. 78 (Pl. VIII) and No. 182 (Pl. IX); on the latter three bands of it surround the two rows of spirals. The cluster of dots at the eye of the spiral appears on both these vases, as well as on No. 87 (Pl. III). The rows of black dots on the plain clay, which take the place of the Cretan white dots on the bands of paint, have the same kind of value. These again appear on Nos. 78 and 182. Another loan from Crete is the double leaf-pattern, which in our examples is shewn on No. 182 and in colour, on No. 53 (Pl. II).

On the other hand the heavy waved lines, which generally complete the decoration on the lower part of these vases, are definitely Melian, and are derived from the pattern common on vases of the Geometric period. It occurs on Nos. 78, 153, 182 and 174, and on Geometric vases on No. 7 (Pl. V), and No. 31 (Pl. VI).

A further imitation of the Late Minoan I style is to be seen in those small one-handled cups decorated with the so-called 'wood-pattern,' of which Nos. 48 and 127 (Pl. VIII) are examples. Other vases with this same Cretan pattern are shewn on Pls. XXV 2 and XXVII 9 and 11 in the Phylakopi book. An actual Cretan sherd with this pattern was found. These cups are invariably painted in a dull monochrome, and in technique differ in no way from those vases, clearly as Mr. Edgar pointed out a degeneration from the 'Red and Black' style, in which it is impossible to say whether the paint is by intention black or red. Examples of these are shewn on Pl. II (Nos. 53 and 174), Pl. VIII (Nos. 91 and 106) and Pl. X

(Nos. 51 and 52) and again in the Phylakopi book, on Pls. XXVI, 4-6, and XXVII, 1-7.

The vases shewn in Pl. X (No. 141) and in Pl. XXVI, 1. in the Phylakopi book, with their decoration in light brown with details in matt black and, as in the case of No. 141, with added white on the spiral, should probably be referred to some late Kamares (Middle Minoan III) model.

On Pl. X are collected a number of vases all belonging, in spite of their widely differing origins and tendencies, to the local style of Mr. Edgar's classification. Of those which have not already been mentioned, No. 198 and Nos. 83, 84 and 186, with their use of two colours, red and the subordinate black, clearly belong to the Cretan tradition, whilst Nos. 86, 103, 196, 187, 197 and 190 may be traced back rather to the earlier Melian curvilinear style, although on some of them the two colours are employed. This appears very prettily in No. 103, where the design is in matt black and the pendant flowers in a lustrous reddish yellow. All these bowls are of the same class as the latest (No. 20) in the series of Melian bowls shewn on Pl. XXXIII of the Phylakopi book. Nos. 77, 143, 138 and 188 will be noticed below.

It is less easy to be certain of the stylistic provenance of the vases decorated with tulips and lilies such as Nos. 142 (Pl. III), 153 and 191 (Pl. VIII), and those on Pl. XXIII of the Phylakopi book. Red, although it is not the burnished red of the 'Black and Red' style, is subordinate to black in the colour scheme, and their connexion with such pre-Mycenaean vases as No. 40 (Pl. VIII) and *Phylakopi*, Pl. XIX, 9 and 10, also points to a Melian derivation; but on the other hand their shape and probably also their chronological position, point rather to the subsequent period of imitative work. The shape of the spouts of the jugs is Cretan and new in Melos; the comparative frequency of the bands of hatching, which are the commonest feature of the 'Red and Black' ware, points in the same direction. Such vases for instance, as those shewn in Pl. XXIII, 3 and 7 in the Phylakopi book and No. 153 (Pl. VIII) can hardly be grouped apart from the 'Red and Black' style with its conscious imitation of Cretan ware. Further, the strongly naturalistic treatment of the flowers in the design points especially to that Late Minoan I school of vase painting of which so many examples have been found at Gournià.¹

¹ See the Plates in Mrs. Boyd-Hawes' *Gournià*.

The Melian maker of this 'Red and Black' ware was a craftsman of some genius, for he produced vases which seem to have ousted the originals from the market. At any rate the number of pieces of imported Late Minoan I found this year was extremely small; the fragments numbered 19 and 20 on Pl. XIV, and a few sherds with 'wood-pattern' are practically all. His efforts on the other hand to cope with the great influx of Cretan Late Minoan II vases were less energetic and successful, and the only evidence of the spirit of emulation is afforded by the group of small but important vases shown on Pl. X, Nos. 77, 143, 138, 188, and the fragments 21-34 on Pl. XIV, and again by Pls. XXVI, 15-29 and XXX. 9 in the Phylakopi book. These betray their technical derivation not only by the patterns and the closeness with which the surface is covered, a definitely non-Melian characteristic, but also by the attempt to obtain the effect of the brilliant Cretan glaze. For this the old native method of burnishing was used, the whole surface being polished after the pattern had been applied in lustreless paint.

There is a certain difficulty about the chronological relation between the Melian 'Red and Black' ware and the imported Late Minoan II. This year the two styles were found very clearly together, although it would be expected that the former, being an imitation of the Cretan Late Minoan I, would be earlier than the other, as in fact it appeared to be to Mr. Edgar and Dr. Mackenzie. The explanation would seem to be that whilst the former excavators are right in their view, and that the manufacture of the 'Red and Black' ware began before the appearance of the Late Minoan II vases from Crete, yet that it was by no means brought to an end by their importation. That the 'Red and Black' tradition had a long run is clearly shewn by its gradual degeneration into the debased style described by Mr. Edgar, those vases mentioned above, in which it is uncertain if the paint was intended to be red or black, and these are found in the deposits of the Third City, until native and Cretan vase-painting alike disappear before the flood of imported Mycenaean.

The fine quality and number of imported Late Minoan II vases found this year was very remarkable, and that our predecessors were right in thinking that the area now excavated was a promising one, is eloquently shewn by the contrast between the series of vases yielded by this small region and the small number of pieces of this ware, and those hardly more

than sherds, found in the previous campaign over so much greater an area.¹ The best examples of these vases are shewn on Pl. XI (Nos. 137, 18, 163, and 140), three smaller examples in Fig. 2, and the best fragments on Pl. XIV (Nos. 1-18). The flat three-handled shape of No. 137 and the small askos have already been found at Phylakopi²: at Palaikastro this askos is characteristically Late Minoan II. Palaikastro has yielded two exact parallels for the shape of No. 18, and its peculiar pattern appears again on a rhyton from the same site.³ The Cretan character of these vases is however so marked that it is not necessary to spend space here in adducing any long series of parallels. Among the fragments figured on Pl. XIV the Double Axes on 7, 8 and 12, the marine designs of 9, 10, 14,

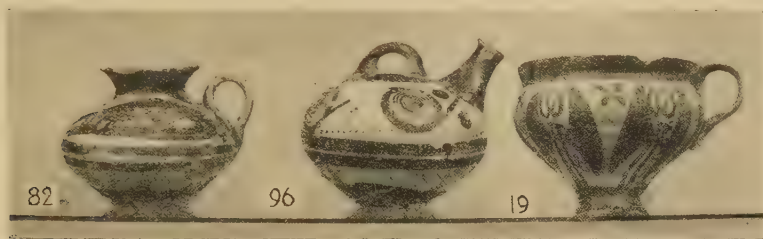


FIG. 2.—IMPORTED CRETAN LATE MINOAN II VASES.
(Scale 1 : 4.)

and 15, and the floral patterns of 1, 4 and 5 may be noted: No. 2 is from a vase with the same pattern as the Palaikastro version of our No. 18 on Pl. XI.

No certain pieces of Cretan Late Minoan III were found. Although Melian obsidian continues to be found in Crete, the old closeness of the connexion seems to have been broken by the storm which swept away the prosperity of the second Late Minoan period, and never to have been renewed. The later relations of Melos were rather with the mainland of Greece.

¹ *Phylakopi*, Pl. XXXI.

² *Phylakopi*, p. 136, Fig. 109 and p. 146, Fig. 123.

³ *B.S.A.* xi. p. 280, Fig. 11.

§ 5.—MELOS AND THE MAINLAND.

I. *Urfirniss and Minyan Pottery.*

A small quantity of the ware generally called *Urfirniss* was found lying on the rock, chiefly in the south-eastern part of the excavation, that is to say in rooms 1 and 2. From its position it would seem to belong to the earlier part of the First City, although the extreme scarceness, in the deposit, of the incised fabrics, warns us against a too early date. It was so much broken that nothing can be said of the shapes, but the characteristic coating of reddish-brown slightly lustrous paint was quite recognisable. It is of some importance as an early link with the mainland, as similar pottery has recently been found in great abundance in the lowest stratum at Tiryns by the German excavators, who consider that this Tirynthian *Urfirniss* is allied to early Cycladic pottery. These Melian pieces may well be of Cycladic origin, and an instance of this connexion.¹

Work carried out in the course of the last ten years on prehistoric sites has given an interest to another class of pottery which it did not yet possess when Phylakopi was first excavated. Thus it came about that only ten lines, and that in the section devoted to 'odds and ends,' were given to the very considerable finds of that ware to which Schliemann gave the name of Minyan.² This name will be used here without any discussion of its propriety; it is convenient and has been generally adopted. This much may be said for it; so much of this pottery has been found at Orchomenos and in the neighbourhood of Drachmani (Elatea) that it is reasonable to believe that it was made in Boiotia and Phokis.

Technically it is one of the best of prehistoric wares; artistically its merits are very humble. It is usually of a slaty grey colour, which sometimes varies to a yellowish-brown on one side and on the other to a much blacker hue. The colour is usually the same right through, and although there is sometimes a brownish discoloration at the centre of the break, the

¹ For the latest account of *Urfirniss* pottery and its archaeological value, see Wace and Thompson's *Prehistoric Thessaly*. It is important to distinguish between the northern variety of *Urfirniss*, found in the second stratum at Orchomenos, and the southern variety with its Aegean relations, found at Tiryns.

² For references see Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 154, Fig. 230 (a piece found in the fifth shaft-grave); *Phylakopi*, p. 154; *J.H.S.* ii, p. 152; *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 13; Tsountas, *Προϊστορικαὶ Ἀκροπόλεις Ἀθηνῶν καὶ Σέσκλου*, pp. 8, 12, 38, 60, 131, 139. In Wace and Thompson's *Prehistoric Thessaly* the whole evidence is collected and discussed.

surface is never marked off by a clear distinction of colour. It is wheel-made, although only slight marks of this appear on the outer surface, which is smooth and rather soapy to the touch. The clay is well baked to a fair hardness. One merit it has, and for the excavator a very great one: its appearance is unmistakable. It is also utterly different from anything of which the clay of Melos was capable: it could never pass at Phylakopi for anything but an imported fabric. The majority of the pieces were fragments of goblets, such as the one shewn in Pl. VII (No. 27 and the sherds by it), with a high hollow stem generally encircled with a band of raised rings and standing on a spreading foot. The body is conical, with a sharp angle at the shoulder, from which a broad flat upright handle rises to about the level of the widely splayed lip. One or two raised bands often run round the body of the vase. This shape especially points to originals in metal, for the spreading rim, the sharp angle at the shoulder and the broad handle, whilst natural and almost inevitable to the worker in metal, would hardly occur spontaneously to the potter.

These goblets are the most frequent shape not only at Phylakopi, but at the other sites where this ware has been found. They were copied at Phylakopi in the local burnished ware, both red and black; examples are shewn on Pl. VII (Nos. 4 and 201). Pl. XXIV, 14 in the Phylakopi book probably represents one of these imitations in red burnished ware with a decoration in white paint.

Fragments of vases of other shapes are shewn on Pl. XIV, 49-53. The neck of a flask with two suspension handles (51) is an unfamiliar form, and another rare shape is a small flat-bottomed bowl sometimes with a raised ring round the base. Two other types of bowl, those with the horizontal handle projecting above the lip, and those with the high perpendicular handle (52) are well known.

The distinctive character of this Minyan pottery and the fact that it has now been found at so many prehistoric sites make its position in the Melian series of some chronological importance. It is fortunate from this point of view that a very considerable amount was found; in some rooms indeed it was more abundant than either painted or burnished ware. Of the whole quantity about 73 per cent. was in deposits in which the native Geometric and Cretan Kamares ware predominated, whilst of the remaining 27 per cent. about half was with the pre-Mycenaean Melian, and half with Late Minoan II Cretan pottery and the native 'Red and Black'

imitations of Late Minoan I. This gives a wide chronological range for this pottery at Phylakopi, and the evidence for its being as early as the Middle Minoan period seems to be new, for the evidence from other sites had not suggested a date higher than Late Minoan I. At Orchomenos for example, nothing separated the deposit of this pottery from the Late Minoan stratum which lay immediately above it, and the vase found in the shaft grave at Mycenae need be dated no earlier. The pieces found at Zerelia in Thessaly cannot be precisely dated. The figures given above shew that this new evidence from Melos is well grounded, and by no means depends on a few possibly misplaced sherds; it does not however, conflict in any way with the testimony of other sites, but only shews that the period during which this ware was made, was longer than appeared before. It is also interesting to note that it was during the earlier part of this period that the importations into Melos were especially frequent, although enough was found in the higher levels to shew that it continued to reach Phylakopi though in lessening quantities, down to as late as the Late Minoan II period.

A few sherds were found of a similar fabric, but with a darker surface and a rougher feel. Amongst these were some stems of goblets decorated with raised rings, but smaller and set more closely together than those on the ordinary Minyan ware. These sherds remain a puzzle, for, whilst clearly distinct from the usual Minyan, they are almost certainly not of local make. It is probable however, that they are Argive Minyan, a variety of this pottery found by Vollgraf at the prehistoric site at Argos, and recognised by Messrs. Wace and Thompson among the Phylakopi pottery.¹

II. *Mycenaean Ware.*

One of the most interesting finds this year was a mass of very late and much debased Mycenaean pottery, which formed almost everywhere the uppermost stratum. Technically these vases are well made, being very thoroughly baked, although, partly because of the thinness of the clay, they are often misshapen. The sherds are for the most part from small vessels, bowls and the usual Mycenaean kylikes with high stems and handles rising above the lip, but fragments were also found of larger vases,

¹ For this Argive Minyan see Wace and Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly*, pp. 21 and 223, and Vollgraf in *B.C.H.* 1904, pp. 364 ff. and 1900, pp. 8 ff.

jugs possibly or pithoi. Fragments of *Buegelkannen* were recognised, but this shape was not frequent and was even perhaps dying out. The pottery was unfortunately much broken, and the pieces were apparently much scattered, so that it was possible to reconstruct only a very few vases. Examples are shewn on Pl. XII (Nos. 132, 68, 73, and 43), and Pl. XIV gives some of the better fragments (39-44). The patterns, confined after the usual Mycenaean manner to the upper part of the vase, are executed with the greatest carelessness. There were also many fragments of small vases covered with a thin, bad, and sometimes irregularly streaky black glaze.

The chief interest of this find is that it brings the date of the final desertion of Phylakopi down to the very end of the Mycenaean age, as it formed a stratum above a thick deposit of pottery of the usual Ialysos style, now clearly distinguishable from Cretan Late Minoan II. Characteristic sherds of this are shewn on Pl. XIV (54-57). Their priority to the higher deposit is well shewn by the contrast they present to Nos. 39-44. Especially instructive is the comparison between the careful drawing of 54 and 57 and the careless and degenerate rendering of the same patterns on 42 and 39. Some time must be allowed for this latest Mycenaean style, and it is probably no exaggeration to put the final date of this latest Phylakopi deposit as low as 1000 B.C. The problem of the origin of this degenerate Mycenaean pottery must for the present remain obscure.

§ 6.—NATIVE MELIAN FABRICS.

I. *Melian Burnished Wares.*

Pottery with a finely burnished surface, brown to deep black or less commonly red, was plentiful among the Geometric deposits, and not scarce in the higher levels in which the pre-Mycenaean Melian predominated. The sherds found in still later deposits were isolated and must be regarded as out of place; whilst, close to the rock, which in the area excavated this year means in the middle period of the First City, they were also scarce. It belongs therefore to the early period of the Second City, and is contemporary with the Cretan Middle Minoan. It has been described by Mr. Edgar under 'odds and ends,' but hardly given as much emphasis as it deserves.¹ The very fugitive nature of the white

¹ *Phylakopi*, pp. 153, 154.

paint with which the red lustre is often decorated makes it easy to overlook the interest of these vases, which seem to have in fact played almost as large a part in Melian ceramics as the local pre-Mycenaean.

The ware is rather coarse and probably hand-made, although the treatment of the surface, on which any marks would be obliterated by the burnishing, makes certainty difficult. As in the first excavation the breaking was very thorough: whole vases were scarcely found, and it was only rarely that any mending could be done. The shapes seemed to be mainly cups and bowls, these latter usually of the common Melian type shewn on Pl. XXXIII of the *Phylakopi* book. The flat dish on a high hollow stem shewn on Pl. VII. (No. 167) represents another common shape¹ and there are one or two pieces of the usual Cycladic hole-mouthed jars. The imitations of Minyan forms have already been mentioned. Fragments were found of several large pithoi with a narrow mouth and three small handles on the shoulder. These were generally covered, at any rate on the upper part, with a raised ribbing arranged horizontally, perpendicularly, and slantwise, but the full scheme of decoration could not be recorded owing to the impossibility of making up any even fairly complete vase out of the numerous pieces. The fragment No. 45 shewn on Pl. XIV however, gives an idea of this fabric and of the arrangement of the ribbing. The surface is a good deep red colour, and, as appeared to be the case with most of the best red burnished ware, was probably applied with the ribbing after the vase had had its first and most thorough firing, for it flakes off with deplorable ease. This was particularly noticeable in those vases which had patterns in pure white paint such as Nos. 166, 175 and 240 (Pl. VII) and the fragment 46 on Pl. XIV. The fugitive nature of the paint on this ware has already been noticed; it was even thought advisable not to wash Nos. 166 and 240, but rather to pick the earth off them with a needle. In the earlier strata the patterns are geometrical; later, where it is found with the pre-Mycenaean Melian, spirals (No. 240) and 'running dogs' (Pl. XIV, 48) and occasionally other contemporary designs appear.

Somewhat differing from this and confined to the earlier period of the burnished wares, is a fabric with a surface less highly polished and rather orange-brown than red, decorated with geometric designs in a yellower paint. Both slip and paint are fast. A rather poor, though

¹ Of which *Phylakopi*, Pl. XXIV. 13 is a fragment.

large and complete, example of this ware is the burial pithos, No. 183 (Pl. IV); No. 167 (Pl. VII) is another, and the sherd No. 47 on Pl. XIV is a technically good specimen with probably the common Early Minoan III pattern of hatched circles connected by tangents. Allied to these are the contemporary vases that shew on a brown-to-red slightly bur-nished surface, a decoration of white bands outlined and crossed at intervals by black lines. The pattern however shews so little in the photograph that no satisfactory illustration is possible.

II. *Melian pre-Mycenaean Pottery.*

To the vases dealt with in this report may here be added the examples found this year of Melian pre-Mycenaean pottery with curvilinear designs in matt black.¹ Vases of this kind, with perhaps the 'Black and Red' ware, are important as being the best work produced by the Melian potter on native lines, when he had not yet begun to surrender his genius to the influence of Crete. It is noticeable that they are not found in any great abundance on the site. The examples figured (No. 173, 35, 205, 234, 185, 88, 94) on Pl. XIII, require no further comment beyond a general reference to their treatment in the Phylakopi book. Of the 'Black and Red' style no complete specimen was found this year. The only other pieces worthy of publication are the four sherds of Geometric ware with designs in matt paint shewn on Pl. XIV. (Nos. 35-38). Of them No. 36 shews a bird, Nos. 37 and 38 human figures, whilst No. 35 is the most curious of all, with a Greek cross and a crescent on the top of a conical support.

§ 7.—MISCELLANEOUS FINDS.

Evidence of the local use of bronze or copper appeared amongst the deposits in **H 5 1** in the shape of several pieces of small clay crucibles. None of them were complete, but the two best examples, shewn on Plate VII give the shape. They were spoon-shaped vessels about '24 m. long by '16 m. wide, made of coarse dark clay with a spout at one end; this is seen in the left-hand example on the plate. They stood on three short legs so arranged that the crucible could be tilted forward and cause

¹ The 'Early Mycenaean with designs in matt black' of Mr. Edgar's classification. See *Phylakopi*, pp. 108 ff. § 9, and Pls. XIV-XIX.

the molten metal to flow out of the spout into the mould. That they had seen some service was proved by the remains of metal which clung to their inner surface. A fragment of such a crucible was found in the old excavation and two broken stone moulds, one for a Double Axe.¹ Such a Double Axe, shewn on Pl. XIV, 59, was found this year together with a bronze spear-head, in a cleft between two stones almost immediately above the rock underneath a floor-level in **H 4 15**. They had the appearance of being in a sort of *cache* and probably belonged to a later period than that of the First City, to which their actual level would assign them. The only other bronzes found were the arrowhead and knife shewn on Pl. XIV (Nos. 58 and 60).

Beyond these objects the number of minor finds was very small. Eight examples, all more or less broken, of the common Mycenaean 'idols' like those on Pl. XXXIX of the Phylakopi book, some clay and stone plain spindle-whorls, a few bone needles, and a small marble female figure '20 m. long of the most shapeless Cycladic fiddle type, the head of a clay bull's head *rhyton* like that published in *Phylakopi*, p. 205, Figs. 178 and 179, and a few beads, practically complete the list. There was of course a good deal of obsidian, but no regular workshop or store of it was again discovered. Of worked stone we found, besides the usual pestles and pounders, a fragment of a steatite blossom-bowl from Crete, a small steatite lid, also probably Cretan, half a stone hammer-head and a small celt. The main interest of the excavation lay, as is usual on prehistoric sites, in the pottery.

The site is by no means yet exhausted; a good deal of the low-lying eastern part of the town remains practically untouched, as well as some of the lower levels in the regions covered by the old excavation, and it may remain for future excavations to throw still further light on the civilization and commerce of the prehistoric capital of the Cyclades.

R. M. DAWKINS
J. P. DROOP.

¹ *Phylakopi*, p. 191, Fig. 161.

BYZANTINE POTTERY FROM SPARTA.

(PLATES XV-XVIII.)

IN the course of the excavations carried on by the School from 1906 to 1910 at Sparta, a considerable quantity was found of the mediæval glazed pottery that is usually called Byzantine. As specimens of this fabric are not common in museums, and its date and general relations are still matters of some doubt, it seems desirable to publish all the pieces of any interest as material for further study, although the writers of this paper have no claim to speak as experts on the subject. The fragments were found in the numerous trial pits that were made on and around the Acropolis, and were especially abundant outside the east end of the Late Roman fortifications.¹ The exactly similar ware from Pergamon and Constantinople now in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum at Berlin is there officially ascribed to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and other pieces from old Cairo in the same museum of very similar make, to the eleventh and twelfth. Two almost complete bowls from Pergamon, on the other hand, plainly of our classes I and III, are assigned by W. Altmann to 'the first centuries of Byzantine art.'² The position in which the sherds were found at Sparta gives some slight indication as to date in the form of a probable *terminus ante quem*, for the building of the fortress of Misithra, or Mistrá, by Guillaume de Villehardouin, in the middle of the thirteenth century, was quickly followed by the decay of the Byzantine city situated round the Acropolis of Sparta. This is rather in favour of the earlier of the two dates given by the Kaiser

¹ Square **M 14** on the General Plan of Sparta in *B.S.A.* xii, Pl. VII, and again in *B.S.A.* xiii, Pl. I. On Pl. VII of *B.S.A.* xii the wall in question is called Byzantine.

² *Die Arbeiten zu Pergamon, 1902-1903: Die Einzelfunde.* *Ath. Mitt.* xxix, pp. 203-207 abb. 35-37.

Friedrich Museum, although it is not possible to say that the pottery did not continue to be made for some while at least at the older city. The most important publications on the subject are Wallis' *Byzantine Ceramic Art*, in which a number of pieces, mostly found at Stamboul in digging the foundation for the new Post Office, and now at the Victoria and Albert Museum and the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, are described and figured, and the Catalogue of Byzantine and Anatolian pottery in the Imperial Museum at Constantinople.¹

The ware was always much broken, but it was plain that, as at other sites, nearly all the pieces were from open bowls decorated on the inside only. Exceptions are the handles of two or three jugs, and two fragments of high cups, the decoration of which is chiefly on the outside and falls under Class VI below. An idea of the shapes may be got from Fig. I, which shews the profile of the more important pieces, numbered on the same system as the photographs on Pls. XV–XVIII.

In the great majority of cases the clay was of a bright brick-red colour coarsely levigated and baked very hard. In a few instances noted below, the clay is buff, but these shew exceptional decoration, and appear to be of a different fabric, although for the purpose of convenience they have been grouped here with the other painted wares of Class VI.

Seven techniques may be distinguished ; the first five being varieties of *graffiato*, and the last two painted work, with or without glaze. The pieces described below have been classified under these heads ; the numbers refer to the photographs reproduced on Pls. XV–XVIII. The method followed in producing the *graffiato* ware (Classes I–V) seems to have been as follows : on the red body of the clay a thick white slip was laid, and the design was formed either by incising lines on it, whilst it was still soft, or by cutting away the slip and leaving the design in white on a dark ground. Over this incised or cut-away design a lead glaze was applied, and then the vase was fired. The incised lines or cut-away ground are generally of a dark brown colour : this is due to the fusion of the glaze with the underlying clay during the process of firing. This dark

¹ *Byzantine Ceramic Art: notes on examples of Byzantine Pottery recently found at Constantinople, with illustrations*, by Henry Wallis. London, Bernard Quaritch, 1907. *Catalogue des Poteries Byzantines et Anatoliennes du Musée de Constantinople*, 1910. By M. J. Ebersolt. These latter pieces come from Constantinople, Adrianople, Smyrna, the Troad and Haïdar-Pasha. Two fragments from Troy are described and illustrated in Doerpfeld's *Troja und Ilion*, p. 314.

brown seems to result from the usual yellow glaze; when the glaze is green, the pattern appears rather a greenish-black.¹

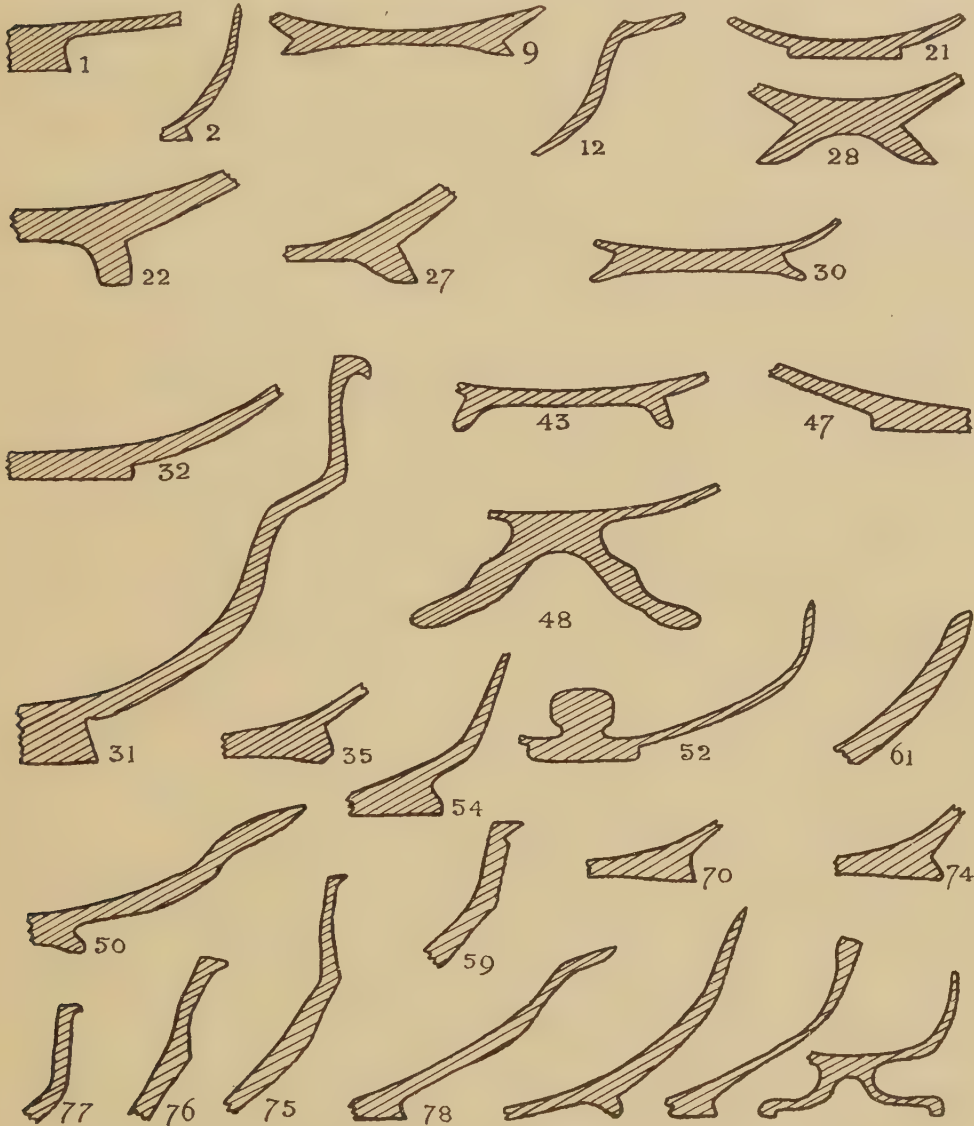


FIG. 1.—SHAPES OF BYZANTINE POTTERY FROM SPARTA.

¹ This account of the technique is taken from the preface to the Constantinople catalogue (p. 7) by Ebersolt mentioned above.

The classes under which the pieces have been arranged are as follows:—

A.—GRAFFIATO WARE.

Class I. Nos. 1–35. Pls. XV–XVI. The pattern is carried out in fine incised lines. On Nos. 1–18 the design consists of spirals and hatchings; Nos. 19–35 have animals of various sorts, mainly birds. Most of the pieces have a bright canary-yellow glaze turning to brown over the incisions (Nos. 1–3, 8, 18, 23, 24, 31–33, 35). Others (*e.g.*, 9, 10, 19) have a pale yellowish-green glaze shewing brown in the incisions; some (*e.g.*, 6) have the glaze a very pale yellow turning to red-brown in the incisions; Nos. 12 and 27 have a very lustrous olive-green glaze, which takes a darker hue over the bare clay; No. 20 has a yellow glaze which, though thick in the incisions, keeps its colour; No. 22 has a brown-green glaze; No. 30 a white glaze that amalgamates with the clay (which, although pink, is much paler than usual) to form a deep black. No. 21 should be noted as having the pale yellow-green glaze applied also to the outer surface; while a particular interest attached to No. 25 as an unfinished piece covered with a rough unglazed white slip, shewing the red of the clay in the incisions.

The animal designs on Nos. 19–35 are interesting. The face on No. 24 is the only example of the human figure; the rest shew only birds and animals. The finest are No. 31, a bowl with a large displayed eagle in bright yellow, No. 29 with a quadruped looking backwards, and No. 32, which shews the head and part of the wing of a gryphon. The finest example of this style is probably the almost complete bowl in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum with a design of a Centaur and a snake.¹

Class II. Nos. 36–39. Pl. XVI. Sherds with floral design differing from Class I only in that the ground is covered by a fine network of incised lines so as to produce a general dark appearance, which approximates in effect to the cut-away ground of Class IV. The glaze on Nos. 37 and 39 has the canary-yellow colour which predominates in Class I.

Class III. Nos. 40–47. Pl. XVII. The design is carried out in incised lines so broad as to form surfaces of exposed clay, with which the glaze combines to give the same colours as in Classes I and II. Thus No. 40 has the canary-coloured glaze, No. 41 the olive-green colouring of No. 12, No. 42 has a green glaze amalgamating with the clay to form brown, No. 43 has a

¹ Published in colour in Wallis' *Byzantine Ceramic Art*, Pl. II.

deep yellow glaze which has turned to a pale chocolate colour where the slip has been scraped away from the clay, while No. 47 has a brilliant white glaze that becomes a warm brown in the incisions.

Class IV. Nos. 48-51. Pl. XVII. This is a further development of Class III, in which the slip is removed from the background of the design, which thus stands out in the colour of the glaze on a dark ground. Nos. 48 and 49 have a pale yellow glaze, which becomes a yellow-brown when the slip has been removed. No. 48 shews a touch of green glaze over the white slip outside near the uppermost edge of the fragment. No. 50 has a green glaze like No. 42.

Class V. Nos. 52-60. Pl. XVII. In this style the design is outlined by fine incisions through the glaze, and the effect brightened by spots of paint set in the glaze itself. These are so thick as to form slightly raised bosses which stand out much as the red paint does on Rhodian plates. They appear to have been produced by dropping brown paint on the glaze while it was still wet. This process was probably employed to produce the decoration of brown relief that marks the second and outer circles of No. 52, where the two other circles are decorated in the manner of No. 1. The central boss has escaped glaze. The glaze is uniformly a pale yellow mottled with a darker yellow and turning brown in the incisions.

B.—PAINTED WARE.

Class VI. Nos. 61-78. Pl. XVIII. These pieces have no trace of the *graffiato* technique. The design is usually painted on a slip, and the whole then glazed. Occasionally, however, the design is painted with a coloured glaze on a non-lustrous slip, as in Nos. 68 and 69, which have a bright green on a white ground.

In No. 62 the yellowish-white design in relief was probably applied to the brown-glaze ground in the manner of the dots in Class V. No. 61 shews a chocolate design combined with pale emerald green dots on a yellow-white ground, which is applied thickly to the outer lip. No. 64 shews dark green spots on a pale yellow ground; Nos. 65, 76 have a black design on a cream ground; while No. 67 has brown on pale yellow; No. 70 shews a blue design with black lines on a white ground (the clay of this ware is buff). Nos. 71 and 72 shew brown incisions in a white glaze in the *graffiato* manner; the former has a design in brown paint, the latter in

grass green. Nos. 73 and 75 have a pattern in lustrous brown thinning to raw umber and in places to olive green, on a rough yet lustrous glaze of dirty white. There are green dashes on the lip of No. 75 ; No. 74 has a white cross outlined in dark brown, and flanked by four squares of which the two perpendicular are dark brown, and the two horizontal blue. The whole is glazed and the clay is buff. Nos. 77, 78 have designs in brown and emerald green on a white ground. The green dots of the latter hardly shew in the illustrations.

Class VII. Nos. 79, 80. Pl. XVIII. These two sherds with geometric patterns in matt brown on unglazed red clay are of a style that is very rare at Sparta, though more examples of it are to be seen in the Museum of Tegea.

In conclusion it may be said that all the pieces of Byzantine pottery here published are at present in the Museum at Sparta.

R. M. DAWKINS.

J. P. DROOP.

THE LITERARY EVIDENCE FOR THE TOPOGRAPHY OF THEBES.

(PLATE XIX.)

FABRICIUS' view,¹ based on archaeological evidence, that the lower town of Thebes extended over the high hills East and West of the Kadmeia (Pl. XIX. A) has in general been accepted by subsequent scholars: it has only been modified by the theory of Kalopais and Soteriádes, which makes the town extend yet further eastwards.²

How weak this archaeological evidence is, was shown by the criticisms of Wilamowitz³ and Frazer;⁴ and the literary evidence suggests quite a

¹ *Theben*, (Freiburg i. B. 1890). See Frazer, *Paus.* v. pp. 31 ff.; Hitzig und Blümner, *Paus.* iii. pp. 411 ff.; Tucker, *ed. Seven ag. Thebes*, pp. xi. ff.; Baedeker, etc. For earlier theories see H. N. Ulrichs, *Reisen u. Forschungen*, ii. pp. 1 ff.; Bursian, *Geographie*, i. pp. 226 ff.; Forchhammer, *Topographia Thebarum* (Kiel, 1854, Progr.).

² Πρακτικά, 1892, pp. 41-6: 1893, pp. 18 ff.; Soteriádes, Παρνασσός, 1900, pp. 140-170.

³ *Hermes*, xxvi. pp. 191 ff., esp. 194.

⁴ v. p. 33. The chief objections to Fabricius' view are that the sherds he saw did not lie along the line of his supposed western wall, but scattered over a wide area, that they were not roof-tiles, and that he has to suppose that the walls of Thebes were not of stone but of mud-brick, which is improbable in itself, for Thebes is not far from stone quarries (see esp. Ulrichs, *op. cit.* p. 23, n. 4), and impossible in view of the legend of Amphion: Wilamowitz, p. 197, and see Eur. *Phoen.* 115-116, 797. So much for his west wall; his eastern wall just disappears on Soteriádes' map. For the fragments of stone foundations seen by him and Kalopais, see the illuminating remarks of Soteriádes, p. 157.

It may be added that Fabricius' view gave Thebes a circuit of from $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 miles, which he compared with the statement of Dionysios Kalliphon (ll. 93-5, *Geogr. Gr. Min.* i. p. 241) that the circumference was 43 stadia; while the extension eastwards supposed by Soteriádes implies a circuit more nearly approaching the 70 stadia given by Herakleides (*ib.* i. p. 102). Thus does literature prove a useful handmaid to archaeology. Dionysios ('der arme Schächer,' as Wilamowitz, p. 208, calls him) is generally believed rather than Herakleides: the latter's statement is either an exaggeration (due to Theban 'Grosssprecherei' according to Fabricius; as though this writer were a flatterer of Thebes), or a mistake of the MSS. The MSS. of Dionysios would be more trustworthy as being in verse.

different view. It is to this that I wish to draw attention. Any theory based on such evidence is of course liable to be upset at any moment by fresh archaeological discoveries. But in the present uncertainty it may be useful to see to what theory this evidence seems to lead us.

Thebes is situate towards the East end of the long range of low, cultivated hills, running eastwards from Helikon as far as Mount Sorós, and dividing the Aonian plain on the North from that of Leuktra and Plataia on the South. Here is a small group of hills, none of them rising much above the general height of the range, divided by the three streams flowing from South to North, the Plakiótissa (identified with Dirke), a small and nameless brook, and the H. Joánnes (the ancient Ismenos).

Of the four hills thus formed, that to the West of the Plakiótissa slopes for a short way, but steeply, on the West and South down to a shallow, and nearly always dry ravine separating it from the chain of hills stretching to Thespiæ; eastwards (down to the river) it slopes more gradually, and this eastern slope is itself cut into by a small tributary of the Plakiótissa running North-East. Between the Plakiótissa and the nameless stream is the rocky Kadmeia itself, with steep sides on West and East, but separated by a low hollow only from the hills to the South. Between the nameless stream and the H. Joánnes is but a narrow ridge with steep slopes on either side; and beyond the latter river there is the last hill, with equally steep slopes on the West down to the river, but falling more gradually eastwards to join the range which continues as far as Mount Sorós. Also, all four hills slope northwards, and, except the Kadmeia, which has a fairly steep descent, very gradually. Both the hill to the West and that to the East of the Kadmeia are higher than the Kadmeia itself.¹

To the North of this line of hills lies the Aonian Plain, absolutely flat, stretching out as far as the pass of Onchestos and Lake Hylike; the river Dirke soon after passing below the Kadmeia joins the Ismenos, and the latter makes its way through the plain towards the lake. Immediately South of Thebes is hilly ground (where are the sources of the streams) sufficiently high to hide from view the plain of Plataia.

According to Fabricius, the town extended over the two hills East and

Their highest points (to the South) are 90 and 80 m. respectively above the plain to the North; that of the Kadmeia 63 m. only: Fabricius, p. 11.

West of the Kadmeia, enclosing the Dirke and the nameless stream, but not the Ismenos (Pl. XIX. A): according to Soteriádes the Ismenos too, flowed through the town.

The literary evidence we have to consider in a reverse chronological order, because nearly all the definite evidence we possess concerns the latest period of the history of Thebes, after the restoration by Kassander in 315; and we can, in part, only infer from this what was the site of the earlier city. Our two chief authorities are, naturally, Herakleides the critic (the presumable author of the Dikaiarchos-fragment, end of the 3rd cent.), and Pausanias.

In his description of Sparta, the latter says¹: *Λακεδαιμονίους [ἡ] ἀκρόπολις μὲν ἐς ὕψος περιφανὲς ἐξίσχουσα οὐκ ἔστι καθὰ δὴ Θηβαίοις τε ἡ Καδμεία καὶ ἡ Λάρισα Ἀργείοις· ὄντων δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει λόφων καὶ ἄλλων, τὸ μάλιστα ἐς μετέωρον ἀνῆκον ὀνομάζουσιν ἀκρόπολιν.* This statement about Sparta (exactly describing the situation of that city) would suit Thebes almost equally well according to the present view as to its site and extent, except that Thebes would have even less of an acropolis than Sparta, for the two hills to East and West included within the walls, are both higher than the Kadmeia. The Spartans had not much to choose from, but they did choose their highest. Pausanias, however, says that Thebes was unlike Sparta in this respect, but like Argos, with one high hill standing clear which was used as the acropolis. The comparison of the low Kadmeia with the lofty and conspicuous Larisa of Argos is a strange one at the best²; but it is made impossible by the assumption that the hills round the Kadmeia, either East or South or West, were occupied by the city. The part outside the Kadmeia must have been on lower ground, must have been really 'the lower city,' as Pausanias frequently calls it.³ It might be that *ἡ κάτω πόλις*, and similar expressions, were general terms used always to distinguish the rest of a city from its acropolis; but it could hardly apply in a case where 'the lower city' was actually higher than the acropolis. Yet Fabricius naturally has to suppose this: 'der letztere (i.e. Pausanias) nennt die eigentliche Stadt *ἡ πόλις ἡ κάτω* oder *αἱ κάτω Θηβαίαι*, welcher Ausdruck als einfacher Gegensatz gegen *ἡ ἀκρόπολις* verständlich, in Wirklichkeit jedoch nicht zutreffend ist, da die

¹ iii. 17. 1.

² Cf. Fraser, iii. p. 344; Hitzig and Blümner, i. p. 800.

³ *ἡ κάτω πόλις*, ix. 7. 6, 5. 2; ii. 6. 4: *ἡ ὑπὸ τῇ Καδμείᾳ*, ii. 5. 2.

zu dem Stadtgebiet gehörigen Höhen die Kadmeia sowohl im Osten wie an Westen beträchtlich überragen'¹

Herakleides² is even clearer: 'The city stands in the middle of Boeotia with a circumference of 70 furlongs. It is altogether flat, its shape is round . . . Ἐντεῦθεν (i.e. from Plataia) εἰς Θήβας στάδια π'. Ὀδὸς λεία πᾶσα καὶ ἐπίπεδος. Ἡ δὲ πόλις ἐν μέσῳ μὲν τῆς τῶν Βοιωτῶν κείται χώρας, τὴν περίμετρον ἔχουσα σταδίων ο'. πᾶσα δ' ὁμαλή. στρογγύλη μὲν τῷ σχήματι, τῇ χρῶα δὲ μελάγγειος. This seems clear enough; but before we deal with it, a passage a few lines further down must be considered. In it he says: 'being everywhere well-watered and *undulating*, it is excellent for breeding horses.'³ . . . It is clear that he cannot be referring to one and the same spot in both these passages: in one of them he must mean the territory of Thebes, ἡ Θηβαϊκή, not the city; and that this is so in the latter, not the former passage is evident from the context in the former, ἡ δὲ πόλις . . . περίμετρον . . . σταδίων ο'. πᾶσα δ' ὁμαλή, and from the reference in the latter to horse-breeding, which would not be carried on in the midst of the town, and to the appearance of the ground, *χλωρά* green with young corn and grass, as opposed to the *μελάγγειος* of the streets and the mud-brick houses of the city, though even so the immediate reference to gardens is strange, *κηπεύματα ἔχουσα πλείστα τῶν ἐν Ἑλλάδι πόλεων*, unless, with Ulrichs, we suppose them to be outside the walls as well.⁴ Fabricius of course does not accept this view⁵; he supposes him to have meant first the Kadmeia only, then the lower city; 'denn dass die Schilderungen des Herakleides ausschliesslich auf eigenen an Ort und Stelle empfangenen Eindrücken und Erkundigungen beruhen und diese unmittelbar wiedergeben, ist nicht zu bezweifeln. Gerade die Beschreibung Thebens lässt recht deutlich erkennen, wie allmählich sich das Bild der Stadt in der Vorstellung des Reisenden erweitert . . . Erst sagte er also,

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 11. Pindar (*Fr.* 196, ed. Bergk) also speaks of the acropolis as 'the great rock,' λιπαρὰν Θηβᾶν μέγαν σκόπελον; and cf., ὄχθος ἀκρότατος of the oracle, *ap.* Schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 638.

² *Geogr. Gr. Min.* i. p. 102 (*F. H. G.* ii. p. 258).

³ καὶ ἵπποτροφὸς δὲ ἀγαθὴ, κάθυδρος πᾶσα, χλωρὰ τε καὶ γεώλοφος, κηπεύματα ἔχουσα πλείστα τῶν ἐν Ἑλλάδι πόλεων κ.τ.λ. Mr. Fraser (v. p. 27) translates γεώλοφος 'with deep soil'; and in his introduction (i. p. xlv.) he omits it altogether. The writer's use of the word is strange in any case, however, for he calls Chalkis hilly: ἡ δὲ τῶν Χαλκιδέων πόλις ἐστὶ μὲν σταδίων ο' . . . γεώλοφος δὲ πᾶσα καὶ σύσκιος, κ.τ.λ. Chalkis comprises one or two hills, but they are all very low (except Karababá, which is the other side of the Euripos, but probably belonged to Chalkis (§ 27).

⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 6.

⁵ *Op. cit.* p. 14. Soteriádes (pp. 169-170) only quotes Herakleides at the end of his article, letting him do his work of destruction.

die ganze Stadt sei eben, dann nennt er sie hügelig, erst heisst es, ihre Farbe sei schwarz nach dem Boden, dann wird dass frische grün gerühmt. Offenbar hat Herakleides anfangs nur die innere Stadt im Sinne, die geraden ungepflasterten Strassen des gewohnten Gebiets, das schon damals auf das ebene Plateau der Kadmeia beschränkt war: nur auf dieses passen die Ausdrücke *πάσα ὁμαλή, στρογγύλη τῷ σχήματι, τῇ χρῶα μελάγγειος*. Dann erst schweift sein Blick über die grünen Niederungen mit ihren wohl bewässerten Fruchtgärten, über die Hügel wo die Rosse weiden, und er fährt fort: *καὶ γὰρ δύο ποταμοὶ ῥέουσιν δι' αὐτῆς κτλ.* Gemeint sind hier natürlich die beiden Bäche, welche die Kadmeia einschliessen, nicht das grössere Flüsschen von Hagios Joannis, dessen ausserhalb der Stadt sich hinziehendes Thal durch die östliche Hügelreihe verdeckt ist. Dass der eine der beiden Bäche meist wasserlos ist, konnte dem Reisenden leicht entgehen.¹

But no one would refer to an acropolis as *πάσα ὁμαλή*, and that the writer is not doing so here is certain from his statement made just previously as to the size of the city. 'It is 70 stades in circumference and is *all* flat.' The Kadmeia is not flat nor round, nor has it such a large circuit. And the lower city too would not be 'green' and suited for horse-rearing any more than the Kadmeia itself; for it was some time later than the period at which this was written that the inhabitants of Thebes were confined to the Kadmeia.² Moreover, Fabricius has to juggle over the two rivers: in the first place, the H. Joánnis is now, owing to the excavations of Kalopais, included within the city wall; and it would, as Fabricius says, be invisible from the Kadmeia, if the city stretched simply to East and West of the acropolis; and secondly, the fact of a river having no running water in it but being merely a dry bed, is just what would attract the attention of a writer like the author of this fragment. He was not deceived into thinking Athens was well-watered because two streams ran through it, and one close by.³ It is the first sentence, not

¹ This of a traveller who apparently spent a winter and a summer in Thebes, and knew the inhabitants well.

² Cf. Fraser, *Introd.* i. p. xliii. n. 1: 'the prosperous condition of Thebes which the writer depicts came to an end after Sulla's rigorous treatment of the city in 86 B.C. (Paus. ix. 7. 5 ff.).'

³ When the 'two rivers' of Thebes are mentioned the Dirke and Ismenos seem always to be meant. See Aesch. *Sept.* 273, Eur. *Bacch.* 5, and the Schol. to Eur. *Phoen.* 818-825; and cf. Eur. *Suppl.* 621. If Fabricius were right, it would mean that Herakleides does not mention the Ismenos among the rivers 'that water the plain.' Note, too, that Pausanias never mentions the smaller stream (cf. Forchhammer, p. 9).

the second, which must be taken as the description of the city of Thebes.

Now, this might very well be a description of Argos, lying in the flat plain at the foot of the Larisa, or even of Athens built round its acropolis,¹ or of Orchomenos—certainly of almost any town in Greece rather than Thebes, as it is supposed to have been. No more hilly site could have been chosen for a town, four separate hills with steep slopes (*ὄντων ἐν τῇ πόλει λόφων καὶ ἄλλων*), and the one on the West divided up still further by ‘deep fissures and depressions.’ Herakleides is speaking of the entire city, not of the Kadmeia only: he says it is ‘altogether flat, and round, *πᾶσα ὁμαλή, στρογγύλη*.’ And this does not fit in with the modern idea as to the direction of the walls.²

Lastly, the same writer says that water was brought to the city by means of conduits from the Kadmeia.³ But how was water to be taken from the Kadmeia to higher hills to right and left? Ulrichs⁴ treats the passage boldly, and after *ἀγόμενον* writes ‘d.h. ἐπὶ τὴν Καδμείαν ἀγόμενον,’ referring the words to the aqueducts which bring water from Kithairon to Thebes. But *ἀπὸ τῆς Καδμείας* cannot be equivalent to *ἐπὶ τὴν Καδμείαν*. Water was apparently brought to the Kadmeia from the south as well; but in this case Herakleides is referring to the supply within the city itself: the headquarters, so to speak, of this supply was the Kadmeia, and from it water was taken in underground channels to the rest of the city. This could only have been the case if the latter was on a lower level than the acropolis, was in fact as well as in name *ἡ κάτω πόλις*. Fabricius,⁵ indeed, if I understand him rightly, would leave *ἀπὸ τῆς Καδμείας* in the text as merely a careless mistake on the part of the writer: he only half heard his informant: ‘Er ist sich wohl kaum bewusst gewesen dass er bereits vorher von der Kadmeia gesprochen hatte ohne sie zu nennen.’ But one can prove anything on the assumption that all our authorities were half-witted.

All this literary evidence shows that in the third century and until its virtual destruction by Sulla in 86 B.C., Thebes, like other cities, consisted

¹ Cf. Strabo, ix. I. 16, p. 396: τὸ δ' ἔστιν αὐτὸ πέτρα ἐστὶν ἐν πεδίῳ περιουκουμένη κύκλῳ.

² Varro is the only ancient writer who says Thebes was hilly: *de Re Rust.* iii. I. 6; so Bursian, i. p. 225. But Varro is not comparable as an authority on such a point with the Greek travellers.

³ *Op. cit.* I. p. 102. Καὶ γὰρ ποταμοὶ ῥέουσι δι' αὐτῆς δύο τὰ ὑποκείμενα τῇ πόλει πεδία πᾶν ἀρδεύοντες. Φέρεται δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Καδμείας ὕδωρ ἀφανὲς διὰ σωλήνων ἀγόμενον ὑπὸ Κάδμου τὸ παλαιόν, ὡς λέγουσι, κατεσκευασμένων.

⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 4. See also Unger, *Thebana Paradoxa*, p. 111.

⁵ *Op. cit.* p. 14.

of an acropolis and the rest of the city, distinct from, and much lower than the acropolis ; and that this lower city was flat and circular and extensive, while water was brought from Kithairon to the Kadmeia and thence to the rest of the town. This gives only one position for the lower town, neither to the South nor to the East and West of the Kadmeia, but in the low flat plain to the North immediately joining the Kadmeia and the small hill called by most authorities the *Ἀμφεῖον*.¹ (Pl. XIX. B). The city was of large extent, and the walls would have included the modern suburb of Pyrrhé, but not H. Theódoros, which is further to the East and on a hill. Their extent northwards can only be judged by the size we would give to the city, 43 stadia in circumference with Dionysios Kalliphon, or 70 stadia with Herakleides, or some size we invent for ourselves on grounds of the probable size of any ancient city. We have to picture a rather low acropolis with higher hills to right and left (the ground *κάθυδρος πᾶσα, χλωρά τε καὶ γεώλοφος*) and behind, adjoining hills with the road to Athens winding amongst them and soon lost to sight, as far as Plataia *ὁδὸς λεία καὶ ἐπίπεδος*, and below to the North a wide-stretching circular town in the plain, all flat, with two small streams, the Dirke and the Ismenos, running through it northwards towards Lake Hylike. *Ἐνθερίσαι μὲν ἡ πόλις οἷα βελτίστη· τό τε γὰρ ὕδωρ πολὺ ἔχει καὶ ψυχρὸν καὶ κήπους· ἔτι δ' εὐήνεμός ἐστι καὶ χλωρὰν ἔχουσα τὴν πρόσσῳψιν. ἐχόπωρός τε καὶ τοῖς θερινοῖς ὠνίοις ἄφθονος· ἄξυλος δὲ καὶ ἐγχειμίσαι οἷα χειρίστη διὰ τε τοὺς ποταμοὺς καὶ τὰ πνεύματα· καὶ γὰρ νίφεται καὶ πηλὸν ἔχει πολύν.*²

But the question remains whether this site for the town, as I suppose it to have been, was also the site before its restoration by the Macedonians, whether they merely built on the old lines, or deserted the ancient city entirely and built a new one on the more convenient site in the plain. It is possible that Thebes in classical times, and still more in the prehistoric ages, if it extended beyond the Kadmeia at all, may have occupied one or other of the sites chosen by archaeologists for it.³ On this question our

¹ Xen. *Hell.* v. 4. 8 ; Arrian, i. 8. 6 ; Plut. *de gen. Socr.* 4, p. 577 B ; cf. Ulrichs, *op. cit.* p. 17 ; Fabricius, pp. 19, 31.

² Cf. Eubulos, *ap.* Athen. x. 11, p. 417.

κοπρῶν ἔχει 'πὶ ταῖς θύραις ἕκαστος

to complete the picture. The former statement of Herakleides about the climate of Thebes I can well believe : it is at the present day very much fresher and greener than most towns in Greece. To the latter I can testify from personal experience, ranging from November to March. Cf. Wilamowitz, *op. cit.* p. 207, who alone of modern scholars has suggested an extension of the town northwards.

³ Neither Fabricius nor Soteriádes suggest the possibility of a change.

evidence is vaguer and more unsatisfactory than on that of the later town : we have to deal largely with probabilities and generalities ; but before touching on the question in general, there are one or two passages in ancient literature which must be considered, passages bearing on the development of the city as well as on some details of its topography.

The first is the description by Arrian¹ of the taking of Thebes by Alexander the Great. As in this passage he expressly says he is following the account of Ptolemy, son of Lagos,² his evidence is important for the question as to the site of Thebes before its destruction in 336.

Alexander, marching with his army from Onchestos, advanced as far as the shrine of Iolaos, and there encamped.³ For this he must have marched right across the North of Thebes, and encamped on its Eastern side, for the shrine of Iolaos, together with a gymnasium and stadion dedicated to him, was outside the gate Proitides⁴; and this gate was that through which passed the road to Chalkis in the East.⁵ The natural place for this gate would be on the North-East of the town, where a road from Chalkis would reach Thebes ; but if the road, as is very possible, followed an older direction before Thebes had extended much, a direction more towards the Kadmeia itself, the gate may have been further South, just North-East of the Kadmeia, below the Ampeion : this would be more probable if the agora were in the flat hollow here,⁶ where Ulrichs⁷ (followed in this case by Fabricius) supposed it to be. Aeschylus tells us that it was the gate near the Ismenos.⁸

¹ *Anabasis*, i. 7 ff.

² *Ibid.* i. 8 ; and cf. the opening words of the preface.

³ *Ibid.* i. 7. 7.

⁴ Paus. ix. 23. 1.

⁵ *Ibid.* ix. 18. 1. Note that a hippodrome, a stadion, and the theatre were all near this gate, the first two *πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν*, the latter *κατὰ τὰς πύλας* (Paus. ix. 23. 1) The stadion was a *γῆς χώμα*, like that at Epidauros and Olympia, that is, the sides were formed by artificial embankments : it was not formed by the side or sides of a hill as at Delphi and to some extent at Athens ; though in the hilly country at Thebes one might have expected it : this perhaps is additional evidence that the gate was down in the flat plain.

⁶ The 'Αμπεῖον is near the *στροδ* (i.e. the ἀγορά) in Xen. *Hell.* v. 4. 8 ; cf. 2. 29 ; Paus. ix. 17. 1-2 (and Fraser, *ad loc.*) ; Soph. *O.T.* 161 ; Plut. *Vit. Arist.* 20, fin.

⁷ *Op. cit.* p. 8.

⁸ *Sev. ag. Thebes*, l. 377. If Dr. Verrall (ed. *Seven ag. Thebes*, 1887, Introd. p. xix.) was right in supposing the order of the gates as enumerated by Aeschylus to be the topographical order too, then the Proitidian Gate will be on the South-East, for it is next to the Elektran on the South (*v. infra*). And the Neistan (leading to the West) will be S.W. of the town, not N.W., where Fabricius places it. If Fabricius' views on the topography of Thebes are correct, the Neistan Gate could not possibly be to the South-West. Note that an 'Αγοραῖος Ἐπιῆς and the shrine of Artemis Soteira (which was in the agora, Soph. *O.T.* 161) was near the gate Proitides (Paus. ix. 17. 1, 2).

Alexander waited a day to see whether the Thebans would surrender, but the latter were so far from thinking of this, that they sent out a squadron of horse and light-armed troops to attack the outworks of the Macedonian camp; but these were soon repulsed. This would be a more likely manœuvre, if the shrine of Iolaos, and consequently also the gate Proitides, were not on the hills to the East but down in the plain. Alexander then led his army round to the gate leading to Athens in order to be near to the Kadmeia, held by a Macedonian garrison, but still refrained from attacking the walls. (The Thebans had surrounded the Kadmeia διπλῇ χάρακι¹ to prevent any communications passing between the garrison and the besiegers.) This gate we know to have been the Elektran.² Its exact position is uncertain, but it must have been to the South of the town.³ Then followed a delay occupied by fruitless negotiations.

But according to Ptolemy, son of Lagos, Perdikkas grew impatient and suddenly attacked the outer Theban lines (the χάραξ), and Amyntas and Alexander soon followed him. They routed the Theban defenders and pursued them ἐς τὴν κοίλῃν ὁδὸν τὴν κατὰ Ἡράκλειον φέρουσιν,⁴ and as far as the Herakleion: then the Thebans turned and routed their pursuers; seeing this, Alexander turned his phalanx on to them, οἱ δὲ ὠθοῦσι τοὺς Θηβαίους εἴσω τῶν πυλῶν. The latter were unable to close the gates after them, and the Macedonians poured in and then, joining with their countrymen in the Kadmeia, made an attack on the hill Ἀμφεῖον, where the last Thebans had gathered for defence, drove them from it and

¹ ὥς μήτε ἔξωθεν τινὰ τοῖς ἐγκατειλημμένοις δύνασθαι ἐπωφελεῖν, μήτε αὐτοὺς ἐκθέοντας βλάπτειν τι σφᾶς, ὅποτε τοῖς ἔξω πολεμίοις προσφύγοιντο. This implies, I think, that it was necessary for the Thebans to get between the Kadmeia and the besiegers, and hence that, except on one side (the North), the lower town did not touch the Kadmeia—did not, as supposed, surround it on three sides. Cf. the parallel passage in Diodoros (xvii. 8. 4): τὴν Καδμείαν τάφροις βαθείαις καὶ σταυρώμασι πυκνοῖς περιέλαβον, ὥστε μήτε βοήθειαν αὐτοῖς δύνασθαι, μήτ' ἀγορὰν εἰσπέμψαι. But Diodoros is perhaps not much help: see below.

² Paus. ix. 8. 7. Cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 780 ff.; *Suppl.* 651 ff.

³ Fabricius and Soteriádes on their maps give the line of the ancient road to Athens, and the position of the Elektran gate, below the Kadmeia to the East.

⁴ To do this it was necessary to capture and cross the two χάρακες or προφυλακαὶ that the Thebans had formed: they then pursued them within these till they reached the Herakleion. This indicates, too, that the κοίλη ὁδός is the bed of the stream just below the Kadmeia to the East, and that the defences of the Thebans were at its Southern end and along the hill East of it (as well, presumably, as West of the Kadmeia). On Fabricius' plan there would be no room for a pursuit between the outworks and the wall of the town. (Soteriádes, however, *loc. cit.* p. 163, thinks it unlikely that the Thebans would have built outworks on all three sides of the Kadmeia; and hence that the Eastern and Western walls of the citadel were within the city circuit.)

spent the rest of the day in allowing Phocians, Plataeans, and other Boeotians to massacre the citizens οὔτε γυναικῶν οὔτε παίδων φειδόμενοι. From this it is evident that wherever the Elektran Gate was, the κοίλη ὁδός was *outside* the town, for it is some time after the fighting there that the Macedonians first made their way in. Now, though we do not know exactly where this Ἡράκλειον was, it is probable that the κοίλη ὁδός (if its name has any real relation to its natural appearance) is the nearly always dry bed of the stream just East of the Kadmeia;¹ and therefore this could not have been enclosed within the walls, as Fabricius and Soteriádes have supposed. And, if the gates mentioned in this passage (εἶσω τῶν πυλῶν, etc.) are the same as those opposite which Alexander encamped, as is probable, the Elektran gate must have been to the South of the lower town, at the North end of the κοίλη ὁδός where all the fighting had taken place. It did not lead straight into the Kadmeia.²

Thus the supposition that the lower town of Thebes lay to the North of the Kadmeia in the plain receives support from this passage in Arrian, and if he is closely following the account of Ptolemy, son of Lagos, then we have some grounds for assuming that in classical times, before its destruction by Alexander the Great, Thebes occupied much the same site as in Hellenistic times after its rebuilding by Kassander.³

¹ See Fabricius, pp. 18, 31.

² This would suit very well, too, with the position of the Ἡράκλειον to which the κοίλη ὁδός led, if the shrine mentioned by Arrian is the same as that mentioned by Pausanias as near the Elektran Gate, 'Left of the gate called Elektran is the house of Amphitryon . . . Ἐνταῦθα Ἡράκλειόν ἐστι' (ix. II. 4). Ulrichs (p. 7) and Fabricius (p. 22) suppose it to have occupied the site of the present chapel of St. Nicholas, South of the Kadmeia. It was clearly outside the city. Arrian implies this, and Pausanias seems to do so too; for the house of Amphitryon, next door to the shrine, was 'left of the gates' just as the Ismenian hill was 'to the right of the gates'; and τοῦ Ἡρακλείου γυμνάσιον ἔχεται καὶ στάδιον (ix. II. 7), and the latter at least must have been outside. Pherekydes, *fr.* 39 (*ap.* Anton. Lib. 33. 3), supports this view of the site of the Elektran Gate: after the defeat of Eurystheus, Hyllus and the other Herakleidae returned to Thebes: ὅκουν δὲ παρὰ τὰς Ἡλέκτρας πύλας, ὅθι περ καὶ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ. For the Agora was probably situated in the hollow just East of the hill called Ampheion (see Fabricius' map reproduced on Pl. XIX. A.). Herakles was born near this gate according to Schol. T. on *Iliad*, xix. 99. (In the Teubner ed. of Antoninos, Wachsmuth's conjecture ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ὥρᾳ for ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ is adopted.)

If this gymnasium and stadion near the Herakleion is the same as the gymnasium and stadion of Iolaos, near the Proitidian Gate (see above, p. 36) which seems possible, though Pausanias would be guilty of a confusion if this were so, then the Proitidian Gate would certainly be next the Elektran, where Dr. Verrall placed it.

³ Diodoros' account of the capture of Thebes does not help us much (xvii. 8-14): it differs largely from Arrian's account, and always for the worse: he never seems to speak with anything like the same authority. He is much vaguer in telling the story, and the details that he does give concern the turning of the water of the Dirke into blood and not the military operations of Alexander and the Thebans. As far as it goes (if it has any topographical value at all) it supports

The second point in this connection is the question of the rivers of Thebes. Did the Dirke and the Ismenos flow through the town or round and outside it? In the third century they certainly flowed through it, as Herakleides definitely asserts.¹ Ulrichs would have it that he is here only talking of the suburbs and gardens :—"Dicaearch . . . begreift die ausge-dehnten Vorstädte und Gärten mit, welche Dirce und Ismenus bewässerten."² But the traveller says distinctly the streams flow δι' αὐτῆς, that is, διὰ τῆς πόλεως, watering the plain lying below the city, not flowing round it and watering the gardens on its way. The gardens may have been outside the town.

But there is a passage in the work περὶ ποταμῶν, included among Plutarch's *Moralia*, which seems to contradict this statement with regard to the Ismenos, and another in Aelian which contradicts it with regard to the Dirke. The first says that the Ismenos flowed κατὰ πόλιν Θήβας.³ But not much reliance can be placed on the geographical statements in these odd mythological essays. This particular one deals chiefly with the mythology of Kithairon and Helikon. In the second,⁴ Aelian is referring to the portents that occurred before the capture of Thebes by Alexander : among them was the disturbance in the Dirke. It is just possible again that this is from a contemporary writer, who knew Thebes before its

the view that the town lay in the plain ; for the fighting takes place outside the city, and cavalry and the Macedonian phalanx, both unsuited for operations on hilly ground, play a prominent part ; §11. 2. ἱππεῖς ἐντὸς τοῦ χαρακώματος (round the city wall), αὐτοὶ μάχην πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἡτοιμάζοντο . . . μέγας ἀγὼν συνέστατο . . . διὰ τὸ βάρος τῆς φάλαγγος. Finally (§12. 3) Alexander sends Perdikkas in by τινὰ πυλῖδα inadvertently left open . . . 4. εὐθὺς ἀνεχώρησαν (sc. οἱ Θηβαῖοι) ἐντὸς τῶν τειχῶν . . . 5. οἱ . . . ἱππεῖς . . . συνέτρεχον εἰς τὴν πόλιν . . . 6. οἱ δὲ τὴν Καδμείαν φρουροῦντες ἐκχυθέντες ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἀπήντων τοῖς Θηβαίοις καὶ τεταραγμένοις ἐπιπεσόντες πολλὸν ἐποίουν φόνον. No other military details does he give. Wilamowitz (*op. cit.* p. 202, Anm. 1) considers the whole to be a poetized account, a κατεψευσμένη ἱστορία, modelled on Euripides' *Supplikes* ; while the description in *Pseudo-Kallisthenes* (i. 46) is still more highly poetized. Plut. *Vit. Alex.* 11 tells us nothing about the topography, but gives us the number of casualties (6,000 killed, 30,000 taken prisoners ; with which Diodoros § 14, agrees). Justin (xi. 2-4, the epitome of Pompeius Trogus) gives us no information either.

In general, note Eur. *Suppl.* 618, τὰ καλλιπύργα πεδία πῶς ἰκοίμεθ' ἄν ; and observe that in the *Phoenissae* all the enemy's forces can be seen at the same time from one spot on the Kadmeia (ll. 1356-8 ; cf. 101-2). This would be easy enough if they surrounded a town down in the plain ; so that it is not necessary to adopt Dr. Verrall's hypothesis of a town confined to the Kadmeia (see below, p. 48, n. 3).

¹ See above, p. 34, n. 3.

² *Op. cit.* p. 6.

³ Ps. Plut. *de fluv.* ii. (δ' Ἰσμηνός), 1 (init.).

⁴ *Var. Hist.* xii. 57. ἡ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἰσμήνιον καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ τεῖχη ῥέουσα κρήνη καλουμένη Δίρκη καθαρῶ καὶ ἡδεῖ ῥέουσα ὕδατι παρὰ πάντα τὸν πρόσθεν χρόνον ἔφνω καὶ παρ' ἐλπίδα αἵματος ἀνεπλήσθη.

destruction, and therefore it would not contradict Herakleides' words ; but it does not look like it ; and no reliance can be placed on Aelian, who makes a bad mistake in saying that the Dirke flowed past the hill Ismenion (or the Sanctuary of Ismenian Apollo). For the hill and sanctuary were to the *right* of the Elektran Gate as you entered from Athens, and therefore to the East of the Kadmeia, while the Dirke flowed on the western side of the acropolis.¹

Strabo² too, implies that the Ismenos did not flow through the town. But Strabo's accuracy on detailed points of the geography of Greece proper, unless corroborated from other sources, is always open to question ; and in this very passage, he is hopelessly at a loss. The *πεδίου τὸ πρὸ τῶν Θηβῶν* can only be the Teneric or Aonian plain North of Thebes, which is watered by the Ismenos ; but the Asopos is not near it. Even if Strabo had meant the plain watered by the Asopos, the *Παρασωπία*, he is then wrong about the Ismenos, which rises in the hills to the North of the plain, only a little way South of Thebes.

But there is a passage in Pausanias describing the position of Pindar's house, which would seem to imply that the Dirke flowed without the walls : 'Pausanias returns to Thebes (from the North) and follows the road which leads from the Neistan Gate Westward to the Sanctuary of the Cabiri, Onchestus, and Thespieae (ix. 25. 1-26. 8). As Pausanias, following this route, crossed the Dirke after he had quitted the Neistan Gate (§ 3), it appears that the Neistan Gate was on the Eastern side of the Dirke, not on the Western side as Mr. Fabricius supposes. Further it is clear that Pindar's house (§ 3) must have been outside the walls, not inside them as Mr. Fabricius supposes (*Theben*, pp. 25-26)'.³ This was the view held by Ulrichs too, who referred to a passage in Euripides' *Phoenissae*,⁴ to which we shall return later on, in connection with the topography of Thebes before the time of Alexander the Great. Pausanias has just described⁵ the tomb of Menoikeus as *τῶν πυλῶν ἐγγύτατα τῶν Νηιστῶν* (the position of the Neistan Gate, as of the Elektran and

¹ Paus. ix. 10. 2. Pausanias says nothing as to whether the river Ismenos flowed through or outside the walls, merely adding here that it flowed by the hill Ismenion.

² ix. 2. 24, pp. 408-9 : ὁ Ἑπεινὸς δὲ Σκάρφη μετωνομάσθη, καὶ αὕτη δὲ τῆς Παρασωπίας. ὁ γὰρ Ἀσωπὸς καὶ ὁ Ἰσμενὸς διὰ τοῦ πεδίου ρέουσι τοῦ πρὸ τῶν Θηβῶν· ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ Δίρκη κρήνη καὶ Πότνιαι . . .

³ Fraser, V. pp. 134-5.

⁴ vv. 823 ff., see below, p. 44, n. 3.

⁵ ix. 25. 1-2.

Proitidian, we know approximately: it was on the West side, and through it went the road to Thespiæ and Onchestos,¹) the place where the sons of Oedipus slew one another as τοῦ δὲ Μεναικῆος οὐ πόρρω τάφου, and then the Σύρμα Ἀντιγόνης, the place where Antigone dragged the body of Polynikes to the pyre of Eteokles. It is obvious that the two latter at any rate, must have been outside the walls.

Then he goes on:² διαβάντων δὲ ποταμὸν καλούμενον ἀπὸ γυναικὸς τῆς Λύκου Δίρκην . . . διαβάσιν οὖν τὴν Δίρκην οἰκίας τε ἐρείπια τῆς Πινδάρου καὶ μητρὸς Δινδυμήνης ἱερὸν. Πινδάρου μὲν ἀνάθημα τέχνη δὲ κ.τ.λ. . . . Then finally κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν [τὴν] ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν τῶν Νηιστῶν τὸ μὲν Θεμίδος ἐστὶν ἱερὸν κ.τ.λ. Obviously, if Pausanias walked straight from the gate outwards on the Onchestos road, the river Dirke and Pindar's house must have been outside the Neistan Gate. This did not suit Fabricius, who supposed that Pausanias (at 25.1) left the town by the Neistan Gate, walked round to the North, entered the Kadmeia again, then descended to the Dirke, crossed it, passed Pindar's House, and left again by the Neistan Gate;³ all without a word. But this is too much to assume. He relied on the statements of Pindar's biographers that he lived ἐν ἄστει,⁴ and that Alexander destroyed every house in Thebes except that of Pindar; but it would be absurd to lay any stress on such vague statements as these as to the actual position of Pindar's house. Hitzig leaves the question unsolved: "Es muss anerkannt werden dass diese Bedenken [of Mr. Frazer against Fabricius] sehr schwerwiegend sind; andererseits ist die Ansetzung der Westmauer auf dem Abhang westlich von der Dirke durch die Untersuchung von Fabricius und Sotiriadis als erwiesen zu betrachten, und diese verträgt sich nicht mit der Ansetzung des Neistischen Tores im Osten der Dirke. Es bleibt hier also eine ungelöste Schwierigkeit bestehen."

We have seen the weakness of the evidence of Fabricius and Soteriades; but there are still two alternative solutions, both of which seem to me to be possible (and one of them necessary, in face of Herakleides' statement). Pausanias may simply have walked within the

¹ Paus. ix. 25. 5, 26. 5.

² ix. 25. 3.

³ *Op. cit.* pp. 25-6.

⁴ Ulrichs (*op. cit.* p. 8) supposed that Pindar lived in Kynoskephalai where he was born, and that Kynoskephalai was a suburb of Thebes immediately West of Dirke; but this Fabricius (*loc. cit.*) showed to be unfounded. See the references in Frazer (v. p. 135) and Hitzig (iii. pp. 466 and 468).

city from the gate back to Pindar's house and the shrine of the Mother of the Gods,¹ and then again to the gate; in which case both the river and Pindar's house would be inside the walls, and the latter to the East, not the West, of Dirke. The language of Pausanias is not against this, *διαβάντων δὲ ποταμόν* and then *κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν* (*i.e.* to Onchestos) afterwards; and if he had assumed it as well known that the Dirke flowed within the walls, he would have seen that everybody could understand the direction he was taking when he 'crossed the river' from the Neistan Gate.

The second alternative is as follows:—Pausanias says that the famous Seven Gates were in existence when he visited Thebes.² Now these Seven Gates were, of course, the gates of the early city wall, that built presumably by Amphion and Zethos or by the Boeotians after the expulsion of the Kadmeans by the Epigonoî, not the gates of the extended wall of the Lacedaemonians, still less of the wall rebuilt by Kassander. Pausanias himself says *ἐν τῇ περιβόλῳ τοῦ ἀρχαίου τείχους*, and their gates would have been well within the circuit of walls as seen by Pausanias;³ so, too, *may* have been the spot where Eteokles and Polyneikes fought, and the *Σύρμα Ἀντιγόνης*. Therefore, on the assumption of Ulrichs and Frazer that he walked straight from the gate along the Onchestos road, the Dirke might still have flowed through the newer city as Herakleides says, though it would have flowed outside the oldest city, and Pindar would have lived outside the walls. If Pausanias turned back, however, from the gate, as I think possible from his own language, then the Dirke would have flowed inside the earlier city, too. If my view of the site of the city is the correct one, we must accept this latter alternative. For even though Thebes in earlier times was smaller than the Hellenistic city, its circuit must in any case have extended beyond the two rivers, as a

¹ Or he may be supposed to be *approaching* the city from the North (ch. 24-5), mentioning first what was to be seen near the gate, then entering as far as Pindar's house, then returning to the road westwards.

² ix. 8. 4: *Θηβαίοις δὲ ἐν τῇ περιβόλῳ τοῦ ἀρχαίου τείχους ἑπτὰ ἀριθμὸν ἦσαν πόλαι, μένουσι δὲ καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι.* (Wilamowitz, *loc. cit.*, claims that there never were seven gates; but at any rate their supposed sites would be shown to Pausanias, and that is sufficient for following his topography.)

³ In which case Arrian's 'Gate leading to Eleutherai and Attica' might not be the same as the Elektran Gate, but a new one in the new town-wall. But there would not be much difference in the position of gates on the South side of the town. Keramópoulos ('Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1909, pp. 110-111, n. 1) recognizes that the 'old wall' of Pausanias is not the same as the later circuit wall, but thinks it was the acropolis wall, and that all the seven gates were in the Kadmeia.

glance at the map will show (Pl. XIX.). These rivers converge and unite only a short distance North of the Kadmeia.

But some passages in earlier writers would seem to show that the Dirke and the Ismenos flowed outside the city. These are from the pseudo-Apollodoros (assuming that his sources are writers of the classical period), Aeschylus and Euripides; and the descriptions by the two latter¹ of the Seven Gates and the Seven heroes, are written in a way to suggest that, at the time, the former were neither archaeological remains nor mythical imaginings; that is, that the old city wall remained much as it had been in the days of the Epic poets. Apollodoros' description of the flight of Amphiaraios after the battle of the Seven implies that the Ismenos was outside the city walls.² Similarly, in Aeschylus' account of the assault on Thebes, the seer would not let Tydeus cross the river to attack the city.³ He had to get over the river before he could reach the gates to storm them.

This is supported by some lines from Euripides' *Suppliants*.⁴ Theseus is ordering his ambassador to proceed to Thebes from Eleusis:—

ἐλθὼν δ' ὑπέρ τ' Ἀσωπὸν Ἰσμηνοῦ θ' ὕδωρ
σεμνῷ τυράννῳ φράζε Καδμείων τάδε.

Euripides' geography is here at fault: a man setting out from Eleusis to Thebes would go by the Eleutheraï pass and then join the road from Plataia, which would nowhere cross the Ismenos before reaching the city, as the river runs East of the road, and in the same direction as it, almost due North and South, and rises but a mile or so South of Thebes. Only a traveller coming from the East, from Athens by Oropos or Phyle would pass the Ismenos before reaching Thebes. One going by Phyle would cross the Asopos too; so Euripides may have been thinking of this road—

¹ Aesch. *Seven ag. Thebes*, 358–660; Eur. *Phoenissae*, 1120–54.

² Apollodor. iii. 77 (ed. Wagner): Ἀμφιαράῳ δὲ φεύγοντι παρὰ ποταμὸν Ἰσμηνόν, πρὶν ὑπὸ Περικλυμένου τὰ νῶτα τραυθῆ, Ζεὺς κεραυνὸν βαλὼν τὴν γῆν διέστησεν. So too Pindar (*Nem.* ix. 22 f.)—

Ἰσμηνοῦ δ' ἐπ' ὄχθαισι γλυκὺν
νόστον ἐρεῖσάμενοι κ.τ.λ.

³ *Seven ag. Thebes*, 377–9.

Τυδεὺς μὲν ἤδη πρὸς πύλαισι Προϊτίσιν
βρέμει, πόρον δ' Ἰσμηνὸν οὐκ ἔῃ περᾶν
δὲ μάντις· οὐ γὰρ σφάγια γίγνεται καλά.

In Apollodoros (iii. 68) it is Amphiaraios who is stationed at the Proitidian gate, and so near the Ismenos.

⁴ Il. 383–4.

though it was one rarely used. But Euripides, in any case, suggests that the Ismenos flowed outside the city, not through it.

The difficulty, however, is not insoluble if we suppose (as well we might) that reference is here made to the upper course of the river (that part of it, that is, which coincides almost exactly with the section included within the walls on Soteriádes' plan), which, on my view, would be outside the city. This necessitates bringing the Proitidian Gate, where was posted Amphiaraios, according to Apollodoros, and Tydeus according to Aeschylus, round to the South-East of the lower city and just North-East of the Kadmeia (next to the Elektran gate, where Dr. Verrall would place it¹); and this is by no means impossible.² This evidence is at any rate fatal to Soteriádes' view.

The evidence with regard to the Dirke is apparently contradictory. In a chorus of the *Phoenissae* Euripides appears to suggest that it flowed outside the walls.³ Ulrichs⁴ took Euripides to mean that the walls were situated between the Dirke and the Ismenos (and in consequence supposed that Herakleides meant suburbs and gardens when he spoke of the city); Fabricius⁵ accepted Herakleides' statement (for it agreed with his archaeological data) and tried a forced interpretation of Euripides' lines, taking διδύμων ποταμῶν with πύργος instead of with πόρον ἀμφὶ μέσων Δίρκας (a view apparently shared by Hitzig⁶). This both the language and the rhythm forbid. The real sense of the passage is doubtful: the Scholiasts give two interpretations: while one gives that followed by Ulrichs,⁷ others assert that the Dirke split into two above Thebes, and

¹ See above, p. 36, and n. 8.

² It is perhaps supported by Pausanias (ix. 8. 3), who says that the place where Amphiaraios was swallowed up by the earth was to the right of the road from Potniai to Thebes, that is, to the South-East of the town.

³ 818 ff.

Ἄρμονίᾱς δέ ποτ' εἰς ὕμενάλοισ
ἤλυθον οὐρανίδαί, φόρμιγγί τε τείχεα Θήβας
τᾶς Ἀμφιονίᾱς τε λύρας ὑπο πύργος ἀνέστην
διδύμων ποταμῶν πόρον ἀμφὶ μέσων
Δίρκας, χλοεροτρόφον ἃ πεδίον
πρόπαρ Ἴσμηνοῦ καταδεύει.

⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 8.

⁵ *Op. cit.* pp. 25-6.

⁶ *Op. cit.* iii. p. 466.

⁷ Dindorf, *Scholia in Euripidis tragoedias*, iii. p. 231: λείπει τὸ ὅς' ὅς ὁ πόρος κατὰ τὸ πεδίον τῆς Δίρκης ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ Ἴσμηνοῦ καταδεύει. οὗτοι γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ δύο ποταμοί, ἡ τε Δίρκη καὶ ὁ Ἴσμηνός. See Wilamowitz, *op. cit.* p. 200, who says the whole passage as it stands is unintelligible, and would read (after Schenkl): πόρον ἀμφὶ μέσων, Δίρκα χλοεροτρόφον ἃ πεδίον κ.τ.λ. But the corruption must be older than the Scholiast, who has apparently read ἃμ πεδίον. Wilamowitz also takes the 'two rivers' to be Dirke and Ismenos.

surrounded it with its two branches.¹ It is simpler (in spite of the difficulties of the language) to take the passage with Ulrichs, as meaning that 'Amphion und Zethus hatten die Mauern der Stadt so angelegt dass die Dirce und der Ismenus sie von zwei Seiten einschlossen.'²

Again, before the attack, Eteokles and Kreon counsel together as to the best means of defence: the former advises a sortie in the dark, which Kreon deprecates on the ground that it might create a momentary panic among the enemy but would not lead to victory: then Eteokles rejoins:—

βαθύς γέ τοι Δικραῖος ἀναχωρεῖν πόρος,³

which implies that the Dirke was outside the walls. Two more passages in the *Phoenissae* point the same way:

τὸν δ' ἐξαμείβοντ' οὐχ ὀρᾶς Δίρκης ὕδωρ
λοχαγόν; (sc. Tydeus)⁴

and Menoikeus' speech, where he says he will fling himself from the battlements into the dragon's cave, which was by the spring of Ares, one of the sources of the Dirke now called the Paraporti, just below the

¹ ἀνέστη (i.e. τῆς πόλεως τὰ τείχη) δὲ περὶ τὸ μέσον τῶν δύο ποταμῶν τῆς Δίρκης, ἡγουν οὗς ἡ Δίρκη ποιεῖ σχιζομένη, ἥτις καταρρέει εἰς τὸ πεδῖον ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ Ἰσμηνοῦ ποταμοῦ (*ibid.* p. 229, l. 28), and on v. 825: ἄλλως. περὶ τὸν μέσον πόρον τῶν διδύμων ποταμῶν τῆς Δίρκης, ἥτις σχιζομένη δύο ἀποτελεῖ ποταμούς, οὗς καὶ Διδύμους ἐκάλεσαν. ἐπεὶ ἐξ ἑνὸς οἱ δύο ἀποτελοῦνται (*ibid.* p. 231). Others seem to combine the two meanings, as (on v. 825): ἥτις Δίρκη εἰς δύο σκιζομένη τὸ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ Ἰσμηνοῦ πεδῖον καταρρέει. οὗτοι γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ δύο ποταμοὶ ἡ τε Δίρκη καὶ ὁ Ἰσμηνός (*ibid.*, and cf. the confusing n. to l. 818, *ibid.* p. 229, l. 8). The latter of these two interpretations, that supposing that the Dirke divided into two, certainly appears to fit the Greek of Euripides better. And there are other instances where the Greeks supposed that a river might divide into two near its source and become two rivers: the Danube was thought to have a long branch flowing southward into the Adriatic, as well as that flowing into the Euxine (Bunbury, *Hist. Gk. Geogr. xphi*, i. pp. 384, 388; cf. ii. pp. 25-6, 357, 398), and Aristotle thought that the Tanais was a branch of the Araxes (that is, probably, the Iaxartes), which flowed into the Palus Maeotis (the Sea of Azov), while the main river flowed into the Caspian (*ibid.* pp. 399-400, 433-4; cf. the 'island' formed by the Oeroe near Plataia, *Hdt.* ix. 51). But to believe this of great and very distant rivers is one thing; to believe it of a small stream so near as Thebes is very different. No one who had been on the spot, or who was in contact with people who had been on the spot, could have had so strange a notion about the Dirke.

² Two other lines in the same play (101-2) perhaps support this view, though they are not conclusive; the retainer says to Antigone:

σκόπει δὲ πεδία καὶ παρ' Ἰσμηνοῦ ῥοάς
Δίρκης τε νᾶμα, πολεμίων στράτευμ' ὕσον.

³ *Phoen.* 730.

⁴ ll. 131-2. No other details of Tydeus' station are given here. At ll. 1119-20 he is at the gate Homoloides.

of the lower town, not to the East or North-East, where it would most naturally be (Pl. XIX. B). One can only say that it is probable that if Aeschylus and Euripides made any mistakes about Thebes, they would be more likely to confuse the names and positions of the seven gates, than to forget general features of the topography. They may not have known anything about it at all, in which case we have no direct fifth-century evidence. But many Athenians, and perhaps Aeschylus himself, had been to Thebes after the battle of Plataia; and the agreement in some details between these various writers themselves, and in others between them and Pausanias, would otherwise be remarkable.¹

We may conclude then that the authorities before 336 do not at all contradict, while in some matters they confirm, the view which the evidence of Herakleides and Pausanias made almost certain, and that all quite decisively contradict the theories of Fabricius and Soteriádes. Moreover, if the topography of the town for the period after its rebuilding by Kassander is nearly certain, we should require very strong evidence that the town had changed its site, before we could believe that its earlier site was different from its later one,—a general consideration which takes us not only to the classical but also to the prehistoric, period.

Had such a change taken place, only some very important event in tradition or history could have caused it. Citizens of a town would not for nothing change their abodes, deserting their accustomed market-place and their shrines. If the Orchomenians moved from the plain to the slopes of Akontion, it was for an exceptional reason, the flooding of Kopais.² But of such an event in the history of Thebes we hear nothing. Pausanias plainly implies that no change was made by Kassander,³ and after the battle of Tanagra the Lacedaemonians merely enlarged the circuit, but did not alter the site.⁴

Had Thebes moved from the hills to the plain in earlier times even, we must have heard of it. Pausanias would know something of it in

¹ Fabricius tries to reconcile the evidence of the Tragedians with his theories; Soteriádes, more logically, denies their trustworthiness on the matter—a very possible view—but then his plan is even more inconsistent with Arrian, Herakleides, and Pausanias than with the fifth-century evidence. (The description of the battle before Thebes in Euripides *Supplikes* is not sufficiently clear to us to afford any valuable evidence, and the text may have been disturbed.)

² Strabo, ix. 2. 42, p. 416.

³ *Θηβαίοις δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν Κασσάνδρου πᾶς ὁ ἀρχαῖος περίβολος ἀνφικίσθη* (ix. 7. 4); neither Diodoros (xix. 53. 2, 54. 1) nor Plutarch (*de republ. ger.* xvii. 9) hints at any change.

⁴ *τῆς μὲν τῶν Θηβαίων πόλεως μείζονα τὸν περίβολον κατεσκεύασαν* (Diod. xi. 81. 3).

tradition; as it is he is blissfully ignorant: 'when Amphion and Zethos reigned, they added the lower city to the Kadmeia and called it Thebes as Homer says.'¹ No suspicion here that 'the lower city' occupied another site than when Pausanias travelled. He saw all the seven gates in their original positions; and would, in case of change, have had to record old and perhaps deserted temples and a disused agora outside the walls, and many other remains consequent on a change of dwelling on the part of large numbers of people.² An argument from silence may generally be a dangerous one; but in this case it could hardly be stronger.

How far the town extended in Kadmean times we cannot tell, but we need not suppose it to have been much, if at all, smaller than it was in the classical period. The walling of the 'lower town' was traditionally given by most writers to Amphion and Zethos,³ and the seven gates, which were certainly not all in the Kadmeia, are as old as Homer.⁴ The remains of the house of Lykos, which Pausanias saw and which may have marked a Kadmean site, were apparently near the gate Proitides,⁵ and so down in the plain. The modern village of Thebes (rather openly built, it is true) which occupies the Kadmeia only, as did the town of Pausanias' day,⁶ had but 3,500 inhabitants in 1901, and only 5,500 in all with its two suburbs Pyrrhé (to the North-West) and H. Theódoros (to the East) added.⁷ This does not make a big town, and Kadmean Thebes was doubtless much larger.⁸

¹ ix. 5. 6.

² As he does in the case of the Arcadian Orchomenos, which was once on a hill, afterwards in the plain below: 'Ὀρχομενίους δὲ ἡ προτέρα πόλις ἐπὶ ὄρους ἦν ἄκρα τῇ κορυφῇ, καὶ ἀγορᾶς τε καὶ τειχῶν ἐρείπια λείπεται· τὴν δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν πόλιν ὑπὸ τὸν περίβολον οἰκοῦσι τοῦ ἀρχαίου τείχους' (viii. 13. 2).

³ Cf. esp. Paus. ix. 5. 6; ii. 6. 4; Diod. xix. 53. 4. 5. See Unger, *Thebana Paradoxa* (Halle, 1839), i. chaps. 1 and 2.

⁴ *Od.* xi. 263-5.

⁵ Paus. ix. 16. 7.

⁶ Paus. viii. 33. 2; ix. 7. 6; cf. Dio Chrys. *Orat.* vii. vol. i. p. 136, ed. Dindorf (p. 263, ed. Reiske); Strabo, ix. 2. 5, p. 403; 25, p. 410.

⁷ *Ἑλλ. Χωρογραφία* (3rd ed. Athens, 1901), i. p. 116.

⁸ Dr. Verrall, however (ed. *Sev. ag. Thebes*, pp. xix. ff.), held that in the *Septem* Aeschylus definitely thought of the city as occupying even less than the entire surface of the Kadmeia; and though what Aeschylus thought about the early extent of Thebes would not be very important or relevant, yet, as Dr. Verrall has shown that he is in all probability following a very old version of the story, it may be worth while to examine this contention. Dr. Verrall argued principally on the ground that on two points Aeschylus and Pausanias disagree, namely, as to the positions of the altar of Ἀθηνᾶ Ὀγκᾶ or Ὀγγᾶ, and of the grave of Amphion, both of which Aeschylus states to be *outside* the gates, while Pausanias (he claimed) says they were *inside*. With regard to Athena Onka, Aeschylus is quite clear: the shrine was near the Elektran Gate, outside the city (ll. 164-5,

We are to imagine then, if the literary evidence is to be believed, the citadel of the Kadmeia inhabited and fortified by a wall and towers from the earliest times; the considerable remains which were to be seen in Leake's day¹

486-7, 501-2). 'But Pausanias says it was in the upper city.' This is certainly what he implies; but it is to be noted that his language is vague: *ἔδει δὲ ἄρα Κάδμον καὶ τὸν σὺν αὐτῷ στρατὸν ἐνταῦθα οἰκῆσαι κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν μαντείαν, ἔνθα ἡ βοῦς ἐμελλε καμοῦσα ὀκλάσειν. ἀποφαίνουσιν οὖν καὶ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον. ἐνταῦθα ἔστι μὲν ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ βωμὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα [Ἀθηνᾶς]. ἀναθεῖναι δὲ αὐτὸ Κάδμον λέγουσι* (ix. 12-2). He then proceeds to mention the house of Kadmos, the site of which was in the agora of Pausanias' day, on the Kadmeia itself (see now Keramópoulos, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1909, pp. 57-122). Now if Pausanias really means by this that the image of Athena stood on the acropolis, we can only say that he is wrong; for every other author who mentions it says or implies that it was outside the walls (see the references given by Frazer, v. pp. 48-9): there is even said to have been a village Onkai on the spot (Schol. ad Pind. *Ol.* ii. 48; Tzetzes ad *Lyk.* 1225). But we need not take Pausanias too literally; for the legend of the cow grew up because of the shrine, not *vice versa*, and a little way off from the Kadmeia would have sufficed for the myth-makers. The cow might have 'grown tired and sat down' a little early, and not had sufficient strength left to climb up to the acropolis. It is to be noted that Pausanias is here giving mythological, not geographical, information. He has just mentioned the sacrifices to Apollo Spodios. This is important, owing to his habit of going out of the true topographical order to talk about any myth or religious custom that at the moment may be relevant.

If the order of the gates in Aeschylus is the topographical order, then this shrine of Athena was to the West or North-West of the town, not South-West of the Kadmeia, where Ulrichs (p. 15) and Fabricius (p. 28) place it.

The grave of Amphion was also outside the walls, near the Πύλαι Βορραῖαι, the North Gate (*Septem.* 526-8; cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 145, Schol. ad loc., *Suppl.* 663). Pausanias mentions it (ix. 17. 4) immediately after his description of the agora, and evidently wishes to imply that it was within the gates. But though it was inside in his day, and outside in early days, this would not confine the early city to the Kadmeia only, but merely make it of less extent than the city (or rather its ruins) of Pausanias' own day: which no one would deny. Pausanias certainly implies that the tomb was *not* on the acropolis.

The difficulties in the way of Dr. Verrall's view are, firstly, that the Ismenos is evidently supposed to be quite near the gate Proitides, for the seer would not have opposed Tydeus' advance beyond it, if there was such a wide intervening space as exists between the Ismenos and the Kadmeia (ll. 377-9; above, p. 40); and, secondly, that he had perforce, to suppose the *Καδμεία πόλις* was divided into an *ἀκρόπολις* and a lower area, all enclosed by the walls (p. xxii; and see his nn. on ll. 88-90, 204, 257). In this he had the support of Wilamowitz, who would 'die Kadmeia auf eine Citadelle auf der Südkuppe beschränken' (*op. cit.* p. 238). But no such division is possible; the Kadmeia is not two hills, but one hill, gently sloping without a break from South to North, till it reaches the steeper slopes at the Northern end. There is no 'Südkuppe.' Keramópoulos holds that in prehistoric times the Kadmeia had four separate peaks, and that the palace of 'Kadmos' was on the peak furthest North but one, the smooth surface which it now possesses being due to later accretions of soil ('Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1909, pp. 107-9). But none of these would have been sufficiently isolated to form an acropolis. (Nor would Aeschylus have known of this.) If the Kadmeia only, was occupied at the time of the *Seven*, then there was no lower town, only an acropolis. And this is, I think, improbable on other grounds.

¹ *Travels in Northern Greece*, ii. p. 226. Leake says the walls were 28 ft. thick, built of large, roughly-hewn stones, like the *Τιρόνθιον πλίνθευμα*. These were at the North end of the acropolis, near the Frankish tower. But Keramópoulos ('Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1907, pp. 205-8) asserts that Leake was mistaken and that they belonged to the early classical period. There are some remains of a later wall in the same place, built of isodomous masonry; and it may be remarked that the stones were quarried from the hills round Thebes.

have now nearly all disappeared and do not belong to the heroic period. Then owing to its advantageous position in the midst of the plain, the town extended downwards into the flat plain to the North, till it became necessary to wall the lower town too: this is put by the saga in the time of Amphion and Zethos. How far it extended we do not know. It probably retained its early circuit till its enlargement by the Lacedaemonians; and it included parts of the two rivers within its walls. After its destruction by Alexander, it was only 'rebuilt in its entirety' by Kassander. It was a *πόλις εὐρύχωρος*, a great city in the plain, not a fortification on a rock, not 'eine echte Hügelsstadt,'¹ or 'a great fortress city'²; it had no natural limit, but extended easily, like Athens and Argos and many another Greek city (Pl. XIX. B).

A. W. GOMME.

NOTE.

In his article in *Hermes*, after successfully demolishing Fabricius' theories as to the topography and the seven gates of Thebes, Wilamowitz proceeds—partly on the ground that those theories will not work—to the supposition that the seven gates never existed, were but the creation of the poetic imagination of the later epicists, more especially perhaps of the author of the *Thebais*.³ His chief reasons are, firstly, that though Pausanias mentions and names the traditional seven gates, in his description of the city he speaks only of three, and that his statement that the gates remained to his day must in any case be untrue, because after the destruction of the walls in 290 B.C. by Demetrios, they were never rebuilt; and, secondly, on *à priori* grounds, that it is unlikely that an ancient city would have had so many gates, as each gate is a source of weakness to the defenders; and Thebes has only three natural exits.

That Pausanias subsequently mentions only two gates after the one by which he had entered is not strange, for he only mentions them at all because he leaves Thebes by them: there was no need for him to go out

¹ Bursian, *Geographie*, i. p. 225.

² Murray, *Rise of the Greek Epic*, p. 36.

³ xxvi. (1891), pp. 131-242: 'Nur für den Angriff auf die sieben Thore hat es Bedeutung dass sieben Argeienhelder gezählt werden; nur für den Sturm der Sieben gegen Theben ist Theben die Stadt der sieben Thore.'

of the city six times and come back again, in order that he might describe it, and so mention all the gates. He left by the gate Proitides to go to Chalkis and to Akraiphnion, and by the Neistan Gate to go to Onchestos : in so doing he mentions in some detail the monuments in the immediate neighbourhood—here there would be more points of interest if, as is probable, they were the principal gates after the Elektran ; to the rest he only gives a passing mention, for he did not go through them ; they led to unimportant places that he did not wish to visit. But it is strange that of the numerous other references to the gates in Aeschylus, Euripides, and the Scholiasts, we are told practically nothing about the position of any gate other than those three, although, as Wilamowitz points out, many of the Scholia are derived from Aristodemos called ὁ Θηβαῖος.¹ It is also strange that Pausanias should leave to go to Akraiphnion by the gate Proitides on the East which led to Chalkis. Had there been seven gates, one surely must have been in the North wall, the *Βορραῖαι Πύλαι* of Aeschylus, and that would have been the natural exit for the road to Akraiphnion. There may of course have been nothing of any interest along that road. But a peculiarity of this kind is not sufficient to upset the statements of so many authors from Homer to Pausanias that there were seven gates.

More serious, if tenable, is the objection that Pausanias' statement μένουσι καὶ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἔτι must in any case be wrong, because no walls existed in his time (after the capture of the city in 290) and consequently no gates. Herakleides² mentions three destructions of Thebes ; and these must, as Wilamowitz points out, refer to the three destructions by the Epigonoι, by Alexander the Great in 335, and by Demetrios in 290,³ for there was no destruction of Thebes in 479 B.C. after Plataia. And he goes on to argue that the walls were completely destroyed at this last capture, and never rebuilt. This argument has been sufficiently refuted by Mr. Frazer.⁴ 'Diodorus says that Demetrius "having destroyed the

¹ Pausanias says the πύλαι "Ἰψισται were near a sanctuary of Zeus "Ἰψιστος (ix. 8. 5) ; and Aristodemos (*ap. Schol. ad Eur. Phoen.* 419) says the πύλαι Ὀμολωίδες were so called διὰ τὸ πλησίον εἶναι τοῦ Ὀμολώου ἥρωος (or ἑρώος, see Wilamowitz, *op. cit.* pp. 215 f., and Steph. Byz. s.v. Ὀμόλη; and cf. C. Müller, *F. H. G.* iii. p. 309). Neither of these explanations tells us anything ; but they may have been full of meaning to a contemporary.

² *loc. cit.* p. 258, 12 : [πόλις] ἀρχαία μὲν οὖσα, καὶνῶς δ' ἐρρυμοτομημένη διὰ τὸ τρεῖς ἥδη, ὥς φασιν αἱ ἱστορίαι, κατεσκάφθαι διὰ τὸ βάρος καὶ τὴν ὑπερῆφανίαν τῶν κατοικούντων.

³ Diodoros, *frag.* xxi. 14 ; Plut. *Dem.* 39-40.

⁴ *Op. cit.* v. pp. 26-7.

walls by siege operations carried the city by storm" (πολιορκία τὰ τεῖχη καθελὼν τὴν πόλιν κατὰ κράτος εἶλε). From this statement Professor von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff appears to infer that Demetrius razed the whole circuit of the walls to the ground. But as, in Diodorus' narrative the destruction of the walls precedes the storming of the city (Alexander destroyed the walls after capturing the city), it would seem that Demetrius merely made a breach in the wall with siege-engines, then stormed the breach and captured the city. But no sure inference can be based on this passage of Diodorus, as it is not merely a fragment but an abridgement, and an ungrammatical abridgement to boot.¹ Plutarch mentions the huge unwieldy battering engine employed by Demetrius, but he does not say that Demetrius razed the walls to the ground.²

Moreover, if the walls had been completely destroyed, there is nothing to show that they were not built up again, though there is no mention of the fact: rebuilding would naturally follow destruction in a case where the city continued to be inhabited. (The rebuilding in 315 is specifically mentioned, because after twenty years' desolation it was a great occasion under the auspices of Kassander, and had a political motive.) And it is curious that the Thebans, μεγαλόψυχοι καὶ θαυμαστοὶ ταῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον εὐελπιστίαις· θρασεῖς δὲ καὶ ὑβρισταὶ καὶ ὑπερήφανοι, πλήκται δὲ καὶ ἀδιάφοροι πρὸς πάντα ξένον καὶ δημότην καὶ κατανωτισταὶ παντὸς δικαίου,³ should have rebuilt their streets (καινῶς ἐρρυμοτομημένη) and omitted to build their walls, and that a critical traveller should have failed to notice the fact. But grant this, and Willamowitz' contention yet falls to the ground. He says Pausanias must be wrong in asserting the existence of the gates in his time, because there were no walls (how long must Thebes through a troubled period have remained unlike all other Greek cities of any importance, an unwallled town, only to be fortified again to resist Alaric in 396 A.D.?).³ yet he admits that Pausanias saw and went through three gates, and partly bases his arguments on this fact: according to him

¹ The entire description of the campaign is summed up in about four lines (*frag.* xxi. 14): ὅτι Δημήτριος ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸ δεύτερον ἀποστατησάντων Θηβαίων πολιορκίᾳ τὰ τεῖχη καθελὼν, τὴν πόλιν κατὰ κράτος εἶλε, δέκα μόνους ἄνδρας ἀνελὼν τοὺς τὴν ἀποστασίαν κατεργαζομένους. This was evidently *not* a repetition of the events of 335.

² Herakleides, 14.

³ Zosimos, v. 5 (Frazer, *loc. cit.*). Wilamowitz attributes the very weak and vacillating policy of Thebes during the wars of 197 and 146 B.C. to its defenceless condition: Livy, xxxiii. 1-2; Plut. *Tiz.* 6; and Paus. vii. 15. 10; Polyb. xxxix. 9; Livy, *Epit.* lii.

these three gates ought to have been non-existent too. But if they existed, why not the other four also?

Pausanias visited Thebes, and it is absurd to suppose he would accept on hearsay only, a statement that the famous gates still existed, when everyone of his readers who had travelled or who knew travellers would know not only that there were no gates because there were no walls, but also that there never had been seven gates except in the imagination of poets. It cannot be even that he was only shown the supposed *sites* of the gates by a guide: no one giving a description of London would assert that its gates exist at the present day, because the sites of Moorgate, Aldersgate, Newgate, and the rest had been pointed out to him. And it may be noted that if anyone were to infer from those names only, that gates *had* stood in their vicinity, he would be correct: if Pausanias had only inferred the existence of the gates from some such names we should be justified in assuming that he was right.

Wilamowitz' second line of argument is that the cities of the heroic age did not have many gates; and he instances the island-fortress of Gla in the Kopais, and Troy: 'Selbst (why 'selbst'?) auf der ummauerten Insel des Kopaissees sind nur zwei Thore, und Ilios hatte zwar unbedingt auch ein "rechtes" Thor, aber Homer erwähnt nur die Σκαλαί.'¹ These were unfortunate instances to choose, because excavations were undertaken after Wilamowitz had written. The island of Gla has four gates;² and Gla is but a palace and a fortress, not a big town with trade. If a fortress can have four gates, a town can have seven. At Troy, of the second city in its third period, in the one half of the wall preserved, three gates are known, and of the sixth, three large gates and a postern. In its entire circuit Thebes might very well have had seven.

Whether epic poets, such as the author of the *Thebais*, were in the habit of inventing facts at will about places so close at hand as Thebes, is another question.

A. W. G.

¹ p. 224.

² De Ridder in *Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique*, xviii. (1892), pp. 271-310; Noack, *Athenische Mittheilungen*, xix. (1894), pp. 154, 405-85.

THE FORTIFICATIONS OF PHOKIS.

IN May 1911 I made a systematic examination of the fortifications of Phokis. My attention was primarily directed to the fortifications *quâ* fortifications, but I have been led to some identifications which may help to add more certainty to the topography of Phokis (Fig. 1). Briefly, my results so far as concerns the plain of the Kephissos are as follows:—

(i) Tithorea occupied the site of the earlier Neon, that is to say approximately the site of the modern village Velítza. Historically the town was of no importance; the military remains are among the finest and best preserved in Greece.

(ii) Erochos was situated near the village of Kato-Souvála.

(iii) Charadra is to be placed at Mariolátes.

(iv) A Kastro, marked on the French Map as 'Psili Kastro,' may be identified as the Patronis of Plutarch.

(v) Near some Hellenic remains, which have been conjectured to mark the position of the Phokikon in the valley of the Platanias, is a Kastro hitherto ignored or undiscovered by travellers. The presence of this fort—it was not a town—lends colour to the identification of these Hellenic remains as the Phokikon.

The remainder of the article deals with the fortifications of Phokis, which with the exception of Abai, Hyampolis and the remains at Modi, are of a uniform type and date from the restoration after the battle of Chaironeia in 338 B.C.

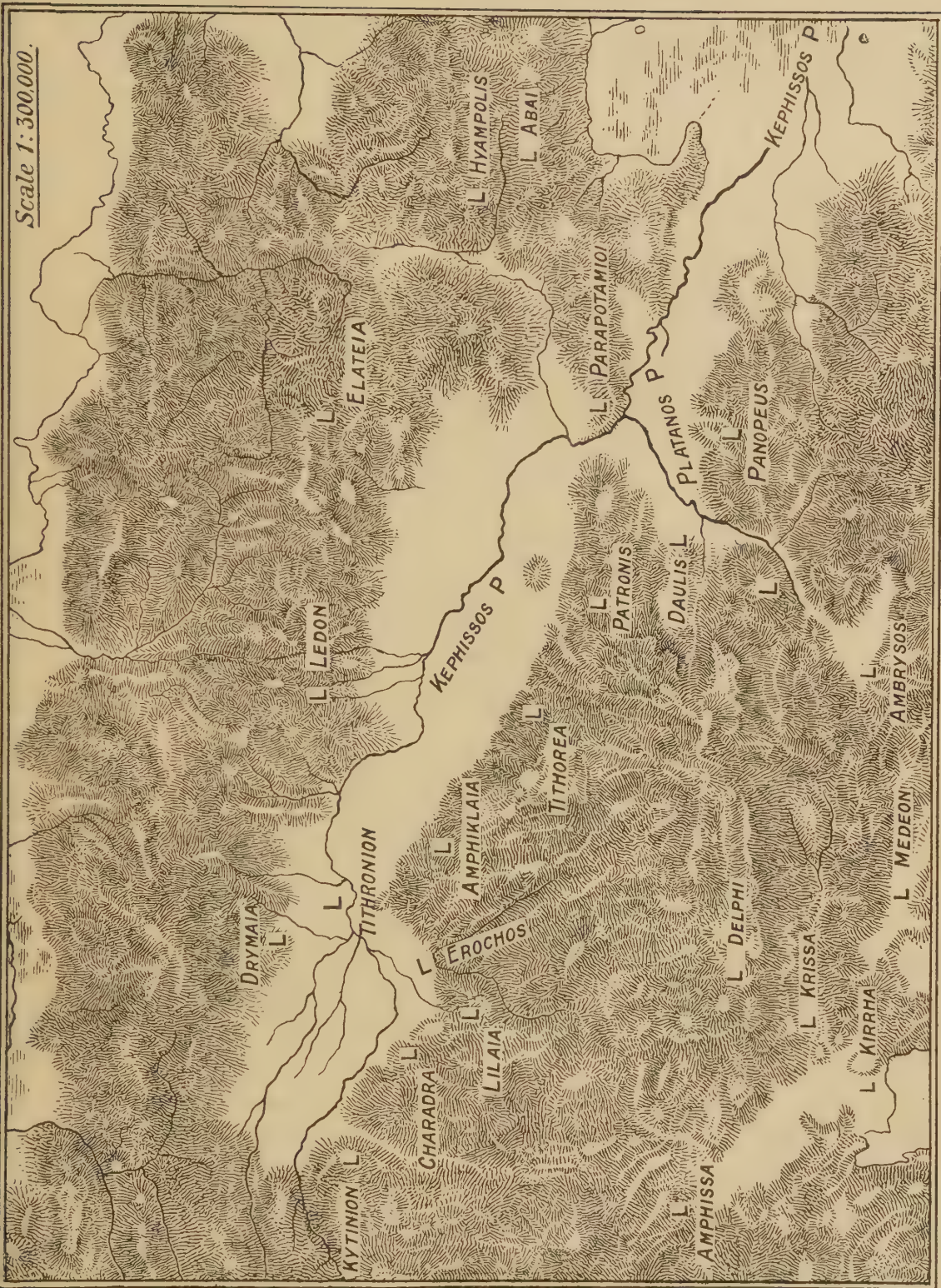


FIG. 1.—MAP OF PHOKIS (AFTER THE MAP OF THE K.u.K. Militär-geographisches Institut).

TITHOREA (Figs. 2, 3).

At Velítza are preserved considerable remains of the town of Tithorea. The name is established by inscriptions, but doubts have arisen as to whether an earlier city of another name occupied this site.



FIG. 2.—BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF TITHOREA.

It is necessary to prefix a few remarks on the topography: the extant walls begin from the foot of some beetling crags and extend down a steep slope to the modern town; in the town they are lost, but subse-

quently reappear at a lower level and finally turn east. The whole eastern side of the fortress is protected by the ravine of the Kachales; high above the point where the wall now begins is a considerable peak, difficult of access; this will be alluded to as the 'upper peak': the

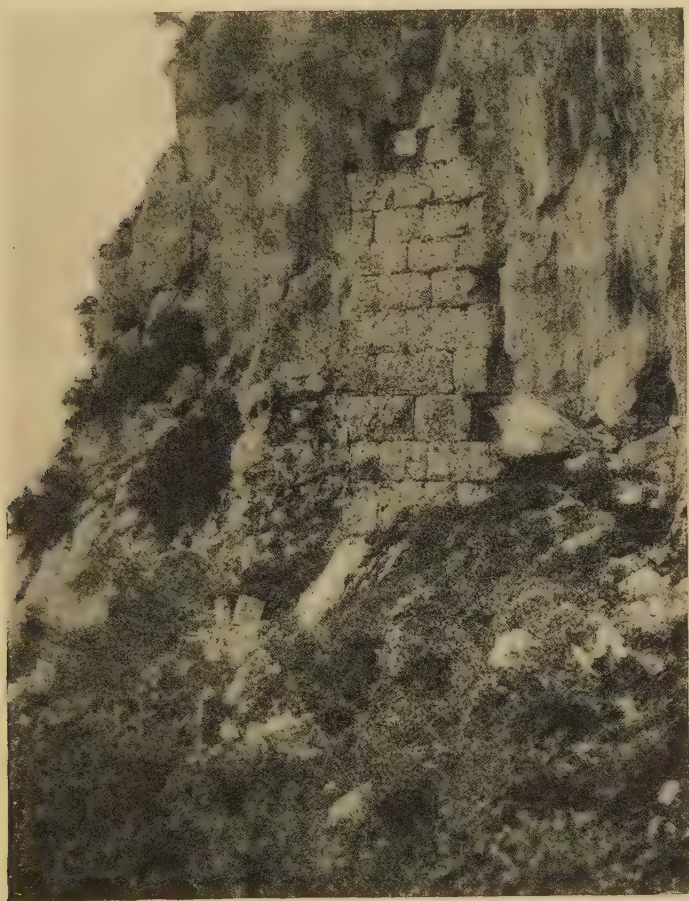


FIG. 3.—TITHOREA: HIGHEST POINT OF THE WALL ON THE
'LOWER PEAK.'

highest part of the ancient town will represent the 'lower peak' (Fig. 3). The whole of the town, it should be noted, was on the slope of the mountain-side and raised high above the level of the plain.

Now Herodotos¹ remarks that the Persians failed to catch the Phokians and proceeds: *οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν Φωκέων ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τοῦ Παρνησσοῦ ἀνέβησαν* (ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐπιτηδέη δέξασθαι ὄμιλον τοῦ Παρνησσοῦ ἢ κορυφῇ <ῆ> κατὰ Νέωνα πόλιν κειμένη ἐπ' ἐωυτῆς, Τιθορέα οὖνομα αὐτῇ· ἐς τὴν δὲ ἀννείκαντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀνέβησαν). In Herodotos' time then, the city was called Neon and the peak Tithorea. Leake² argues that Herodotos' description is not applicable to the 'lower peak,' which (to quote his words) 'is not spacious, was included within the walls of Tithorea, and could hardly have been excluded from those of Neon, unless that city occupied a much lower site'; he concludes that Herodotos' Tithorea was the 'upper peak.' This is the natural and, I believe, the correct inference. Leake now goes on to conjecture that Neon occupied a site actually in the plain. This conjecture is gratuitous when once Herodotos' Tithorea has been located at the 'upper peak, and is not demanded by his argument. Had the 'lower peak' been chosen, there would have been some reason for placing Neon in the plain. There is, further, evidence that Neon did not lie in the plain. Pausanias³ records a statement that in the Sacred War Philomelos threw himself over a precipice at Neon. Some emphasis may be laid on the precipice; for Diodoros,⁴ or Diodoros' authority, moralises on the fate of the sacrilegious Philomelos who met his end by the very death which was inflicted on sacrilegious persons at Delphi. Leake's conjecture that the site at Palaías Phivas⁵ represents Neon is consequently as erroneous as it is gratuitous. One further inference may be drawn from this passage of Pausanias:—that the name Neon was in use as late as the Sacred War.

Pausanias⁶ found that the town, which in his day was called Tithorea, had been formerly known as Neon. His conclusion, which is eminently sound, is as follows:—*ἔοικεν οὖν ἀνὰ χρόνον πρῶτα μὲν δὴ τῇ ἀπάσῃ χώρᾳ, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, ἐπειδὴ ἀνγκίσθησαν ἀπὸ τῶν κωμῶν, ἐκνικῆσαι καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει Τιθορείαν μηδὲ ἔτι Νέωνα ὀνομάζεσθαι*. The name Tithorea belonged originally to the peak and was then applied to the adjoining district.⁷

¹ viii. 32.² *N.G.* ii. 79.³ Paus. x. 2. 4.⁴ Diod. xvi. 31.⁵ This name is attached to some ruins situated in the plain near the railway, about 50 minutes' walk from Velitsa. A few blocks remain, but the majority have been removed to Κεφισσοχώριο.⁶ x. 32. 9.⁷ This was quite natural. Pausanias was puzzled and remarks *Βάκισ Τιθορέας τοὺς ἔνθαδε ἐκάλεσαν ἀνθρώπους*. Bakis' allusion to Tithoreans does not imply that he called the town Tithorea.

Neon was destroyed by Philip and the Thebans in 346, and when the town was rebuilt, it was known by the name of Tithoreia.¹ This was also Pausanias' view : the phrase *ἐπειδὴ ἀνφκίσθησάν ἀπὸ τῶν κωμῶν* (cf. Paus. x. 2. 4) can only refer to the villages into which the Phokians were dispersed in 346. By the time of Plutarch the town had attained some eminence under the name of Tithoreia and Plutarch carelessly applies Herodotos' Tithorea to the town, and not to the peak.

It is necessary to deal with this passage of Plutarch² in detail : *‘Ὁρτήσιον δὲ Κάφης . . διὰ τοῦ Παρνησοῦ κατήγεν ὑπ’ αὐτὴν τὴν Τιθόραν, οὗπω τοσαύτην πόλιν οὔσαν ὅση νῦν ἔστιν ἀλλὰ φρούριον ἀπορρῶγι κρημνῷ περικοπτόμενον εἰς δὲ καὶ πάλαι ποτε Φωκέων οἱ Ξέρξην ἐπιόντα φεύγοντες ἀνεσκευάσαντο καὶ διεσώθησαν.’*

Between the last century B.C. and the time at which Plutarch is writing, the town increased in size and prosperity. Leake's comment on the passage runs as follows :—‘ We learn at least from the same passage of the biographer that the city destroyed by the Persians was not yet revived in the Mithridatic War and . . . it was not probably until the latter period (the Roman Empire) that the Tithorea was built which Plutarch, Pausanias and the inscription of Velitsa demonstrate to have existed in the time of Nerva and the Antonines. The extant walls, by the regularity of the masonry, exactly accord with that degree of antiquity.’ Leake then interprets the phrase *οὗπω . . . περικοπτόμενον* as implying that the extant walls were not built at the time of the Mithridatic War, and considers them to be the outward sign of the increased prosperity. There are three comments to be made on this view :—

(i) The *φρούριον*, of which Plutarch speaks, was large enough to shelter Hortensius' army ; the word can apply to the area enclosed by the existing walls.

(ii) The prosperity of Tithorea in the age of the Antonines would not be likely to take the form of new fortifications. There was no occasion for such a step, and, as Frazer has remarked, the Romans would not have tolerated it. The prosperity would be evidenced by the spreading of houses *outside* the extant walls and the erection of civil not military buildings. It would be very poor evidence of prosperity that a town

¹ Herodotos spells the peak Tithorea : Pausanias calls the town Tithoreia, and Plutarch Tithora. The Phokian spelling was often elastic.

² *Sulla*, xv.

in a Roman province found it necessary to expend money on fortifications.

(iii) What criteria has Leake for Greek fortifications in the age of the Antonines? It is very doubtful what kind of fortifications, if any, were built in Greece during this period. Great regularity of masonry can be predicated only of the towers and the circuit-wall of the lower town; and even this masonry is less marked than the work at Hyampolis or Thisbai (Boiotia).

Further, the enceinte of Tithorea, both as regards its design and its masonry, is closely allied to many other Phokian towns, and cannot be thus isolated. We have seen that Pausanias believed the town to have been rebuilt shortly after its destruction in 346.¹ Kromayer² supposes that the Athenians and Thebans rebuilt some of the Phokian cities³ in B.C. 339-8, and that after Chaironeia Philip embarked on a policy of restoration, at the same time that the Phokian payments to Delphi were significantly reduced. There is no reason to believe that the enceinte of Tithorea is subsequent to the last years of the fourth century B.C.

Finally, the walls of Nikopolis (near Preveza), which were erected after Actium and repaired under subsequent emperors, are much more of a criterion for the fortifications of the Antonine age. Brick and mortar, however, are foreign to the walls of Tithorea.

CHARADRA (Fig. 4) AND EROCHOS.

The site of Lilaia is certain: it lies between the villages of Kato-Souvála and Kato-Agoriani, and near the springs of the Kephissos. The lower town extends into the plain and the acropolis is an enclosure formed by walls on the west and south, while on the east the steep cliffs of the Agorianitsa ravine render other defences unnecessary. The acropolis slopes sharply from south to north and is divided into three natural compartments by the fall of the rock; each of these could be easily isolated and defended, so long as the enemy did not occupy a compartment above.

Herodotos⁴ gives a list of the Phokian cities which the Persians

¹ It is impossible to imagine that the Phokians remained scattered in their villages for five hundred odd years. There is, moreover, direct evidence to the contrary.

² *Antike Schlachtfelde*, i. 135.

³ Ambrysos was one of these. Paus. x. 36. 3.

⁴ Herod. viii. 33.

sacked and destroyed, in which the name of Lilaia does not occur. This circumstance is of particular importance, as it has been made the basis of an argument relating to the site of Erochos and Charadra.

Leake¹ maintains that Lilaia was as frequently Dorian as Phokian and that its absence from Herodotos' list is due to the fact that it was Dorian at the time and had consequently medised: that it must have been on the frontier, and therefore Charadra cannot have been situated further



FIG. 4.—CHARADRA: TOWER IN THE SOUTH WALL.

west, *e.g.* at Mariolátes. It will be noticed that this theory derives its force from an inference; if this inference is shown to be unnecessary, the theory is severely shaken: if the evidence which Leake adduces to support this inference is traversed and an alternative inference from the same facts is supported by the scanty evidence available, the theory must fall.

¹ *N.G.* ii. 70.

From the omission of Lilaia in Herodotos' list Leake infers that it was not then a Phokian town; as further evidence he adduces the fact that it was frequently considered Dorian. Lolling, however, has shown that Doris was spoken of as consisting at this time of four towns, and has given cogent reasons for placing Kytinion, Erineos, Pindos, and Boion at Gravia, Kasteli, Kaniani, and Ano-Kasteli respectively.¹ He also maintains, in opposition to Leake, that there is no natural boundary between Phokis and Doris. He has thus traversed the evidence that Leake produced and has shaken the theory.

Lolling was puzzled by the omission of Lilaia from the list and was driven to suppose that Lilaia was unfortified at the time of the Persian invasion and that the present acropolis was then called Erochos. An inscription of a later date found at Elateia disposes of this conjecture: for, if Erochos is mentioned at a time when Lilaia is known as Lilaia, it is impossible to equate Lilaia and Erochos: and Erochos is mentioned in the inscription.²

If Herodotos' list is examined, it is to be noted that, in the case of all the towns whose sites are known, *eg.* Drymos, Tethronion, Amphikaia (Amphikleia), Neon, Elateia, Hyampolis, Parapotamioi, Abai,³ the names are given in topographical sequence from west to east. It is reasonable to suppose that Charadra and Erochos are in their right order. If a visitor to Cambridge gave a list of Colleges in the following order: Peterhouse, Pembroke, Corpus, King's, Clare, Trinity Hall, Caius, Trinity, St. John's; and if the site of Clare and Trinity Hall were unknown, the following inferences might fairly be drawn: that Clare and Trinity Hall were situated somewhere between King's and Caius and that, failing evidence to the contrary, Clare was nearer to King's than Trinity Hall. In the case of Parapotamioi and Abai, Herodotos had an obvious reason for transposing the names, a reason which is made patent by the context; for Charadra and Erochos no such reason is forthcoming. Let us merely assume that Charadra and Erochos are to be sought west of a line drawn between Drymos and Amphikleia (this line would pass close by Tethronion).

¹ *Ath. Mitt.* ix. 305 *sqq.*

² P. Paris, *Élatée*, p. 248; *B.C.H.* 1887, p. 328.

³ It might have been expected that Abai would have been placed between Hyampolis and Parapotamioi. Herodotos, however, had some further remarks to make about Abai and naturally transferred it to the end when by so doing he was not likely to mislead the reader.

On the north side of the plain there are no sites; but on the south there are two, one on each side of Lilaia. To the south of Kato-Souvála and to the west of a ravine leading to Ano-Souvála, there is a hill shaped like an inverted saucer on which are traces of Hellenic walls. Mariolátes, the alternative site, may be reached from Souvála in an hour, and is exactly four kilometres distant from Kato-Agoriani. On the west the Kastro hill falls away sharply into a ravine which forms the bed of a torrent (generally dry); on the east the slope is steep and covered with boulders. The hill slopes from south to north, and descends rapidly as it approaches the plain; the walls never extended into the plain but stopped short on the hillside, and this lends an appearance of great height to the position.

Pausanias¹ describes Charadra thus:—‘twenty stades off (Lilaia) is Charadra perched on a high crag’ and alludes to the scarcity of water. Leake locates Charadra at the site near Souvála, but this site fails to satisfy the required conditions:—(i) the site cannot possibly be described as ‘perched on a high crag’; (ii) a copious stream, which turns a cotton-mill and subsequently forms the water-supply of Kato-Souvála, flows close by; (iii) the distance between the site and Lilaia is under two kilometres. The site at Mariolátes, on the other hand, corresponds to the description; the distance to Lilaia is a little over four kilometres.

It has been pointed out that the acropolis of Lilaia was easily defensible and was rendered an almost impregnable position by the addition of the later fortifications. Now Lilaia is mentioned as a city by Homer; solidity and strength may therefore be predicated of its walls; like many early towns, it may have been confined to the mountain-side.

The position then was this: the Persian detachment took Charadra, which may now be placed at Mariolátes, and marched eastwards; close at hand were Lilaia and Erochos, of which the former was a strong position with an almost impregnable acropolis. Now if Erochos occupied the site near Souvála (and its position in the list places it somewhere near), an explanation can be given of the omission of Lilaia’s name. The site near Souvála was, as we have seen, in an open position and unprotected by natural defences. It is possible then that the Persians preferred to content themselves with the capture and sack of Erochos to risking or, it may be, renewing an attack on Lilaia which was difficult to take. Whether this be the right explanation or not, there still remain topographical reasons for

¹ x. 33. 3.

placing Erochos near Souvála. The sites west of Mariolátes are claimed by Dorian towns, Mariolátes itself represents Charadra: the site next in order is known to be that of Lilaia: there remains within the limits we have prescribed only the site by Souvála, and there is no evidence against its identification as Erochos.

In conclusion it may be remarked that Valckenaer's conjecture of *Αιλαιέων* for *Αιολίδων* in Herodotos viii. 35 cannot be right. It is impossible to suppose that the Persians doubled back from Daulis (well on the best road to Delphi) to Lilaia, whence there was only a mountain path to Delphi.

PATRONIS (Figs. 5, 6).

A path leads from Tithorea across the Kachales and over undulating ground to the village of Hagia Marina. Just before that village is reached, a valley opens to the south between some foothills of Parnassos, and in the recess of this valley there are remains of a Hellenic town. The site is a hill which on the west and south rises sharply from the valley and in the north is connected with the hills which run towards the plain by a low saddle. From the Kastro one path leads south-eastwards over some hills towards the ruined village of Neochori and Daulis, and a second follows a valley eastwards and strikes the defile between the hills on the west and Mt. Parori just before the village of Biskini is reached. This defile connects Biskini and Daulis and forms an alternative route to the longer journey by the defile of Parapotamioi. The Kastro was thus capable of becoming a point of strategic importance.

The fortifications resemble those of the other Phokian towns. A square tower occupies the summit of the hill (Fig. 5), and the upper part of the hill is cut off by an inner line of wall flanked by a single tower; 16 m. east of the tower a simple opening is pierced in the wall. The east wall of the fortress is flanked by at least two towers; in all the towers one course alone was bonded in and the curtain-wall runs through unbroken. In the case of two towers a strip of masonry (50 m. wide) extends for the length of the tower in rear of the circuit wall, against which it leans (*i.e.* no bonding), and may have carried a flight of steps. The masonry is massive and regular and the corners of the towers (except that on the summit) bear chisel-drafts (Fig. 6). A lower line of wall can be traced near the saddle on the north.

Now Pausanias¹ mentions a small place called Tronis (sic) which was somewhere near Daulis, and Plutarch mentions a place called Patronis, where Hortensius, after his march across Parnassos and his halt at Tithorea,



FIG. 5.—PATRONIS: THE TOWER ON THE SUMMIT.

effected a junction with Sulla.² Leake³ was the first to suggest that the 'Tronis' of Pausanias and Plutarch's Patronis were one and the same. Kromayer,⁴ who has studied the operations leading to the second battle of Chaironeia, was led to look for Patronis 'between Biskini and Hagia

¹ x. 4.

² Sulla, xv.

³ N.G. ii. 104.

⁴ Kromayer, *Antike Schlachtfelde*, ii. 359.

Marina.' There can be little doubt that the town in question, which is marked on the French map as Psili Kastro, is Patronis. Kromayer was



FIG. 6.—PATRONIS: DETAILS OF CONSTRUCTION OF A TOWER.

obviously unaware of its existence ; otherwise this identification would not have been left to the present writer.

THE KASTRO IN THE PLATANIAS VALLEY.

A narrow valley leads southwards off the plain above which Daulis and Panopeus are built and forms the easiest communication between those

places and Delphi, Ambrysos and Lebadeia. It is this valley, the valley of the Plataniās (the ancient Platanos) which Pausanias calls the straight road to Delphi. An hour's walk from Davlia brings one to a point in this valley, where the hills on either side close in and leave but a narrow passage.



FIG. 7.—PLAN OF THE FORTRESS OF AIOLIDAI.
(Scale 6 : 1000.)

The peaked hill on the west bears on its summit the ruins of a Hellenic hill-fort. The northern face opposes a steep shrub-covered slope, the rocks fall away precipitately on east and south; on the west, a ledge of rock makes the approach difficult, but beyond this ledge a strip of fairly even arable land extends N.W. towards Daulis; about half way up the

hill on the south side there is a level terrace of turf, but the rocks below necessitate a difficult climb to reach this spot. Walls are necessary only on the north and west; on the south and east the rocks offer sufficient defence (Fig. 7). There is only one entrance, at the eastern end of the north wall, which is formed by the overlapping of two walls; at the N.W. corner there is a square tower (face 6 m. projecting over the west wall 2.90 m.). The west front measures 36 m. over all and is flanked at its south extremity by a smaller tower which is not bonded in. The corners of the towers are chisel-drafted, and the interior filled with rubble up to the level of the terre-plein.

Just short of the Kastro, on this way to Delphi, a number of Hellenic blocks are to be seen. The ground, over which these blocks are strewn, is at a higher level than the rest of the valley and is now much covered with scrub. Some of the blocks have sinkings 1 m. long, .23 m. wide, and .06 deep and T clamps; others have only a sinking .57 m. long $\times$.19 m. wide $\times$.087 deep. It is possible that these blocks mark the site of the Phokikon. The passage of Pausanias which throws light on the site to be looked for, runs as follows:—'Returning from Daulis to the straight road to Delphi and going forward, you come to a building on the left of the road, called the Phokikon. . . . The edifice is large . . . Going on from here you will come to what is called the Cleft Way.'¹ If, as is commonly supposed, these remains indicate the site of the Phokikon, the fort above fulfils a special function; the site is not one which would be chosen for residential purposes: a large proportion of the space within the walls is covered with boulders and crags; any water other than rain water would have to be fetched from a spring situated in a dip leading off the main valley. As a guard-post and watch-tower, the spot is well chosen: the view extends southwards down the valley to Distomo (Ambrysos) and some considerable distance east and west over the route between Lebadeia and Delphi.

Herodotos² records that a Persian detachment captured Panopeus, Daulis, and Aiolidai and then proceeded to Delphi. The site in question may be that of Aiolidai, for which we should naturally look on the road to Delphi. The identification is of course merely a conjecture.

¹ Paus. x. 5. 1.

² viii. 35.

An examination of the military remains of Phokis makes one point clear: the extant walls—with but three exceptions—belong to one and the same period. There is a uniform type of masonry, and identical principles are adhered to in the design of the various enceintes; there is further a striking resemblance in details. A distinct type—whether the product of the period rather than of the locality—can be observed. In the choice of a site for a town the Greek was guided by his desire to combine two elements, an acropolis for the day of need and a lower town on the level. The slopes which melt into the valley of the Kephissos offered numerous positions of the desired type. The steepness of these slopes, which rendered elaborate fortifications unnecessary, enabled the Phokians to select an acropolis of abnormal strength at some considerable height above the plain without exposing a long line of weak wall. The economy of defenders thus effected was invaluable.

Where precipitous cliffs occur, a wall is dispensed with; where the slope is rapid but not precipitous, a wall is employed, but towers are not generally considered necessary. In these parts comparatively small blocks are employed, and the masonry is irregular and of a nondescript type; polygonal blocks are freely employed and disarrange the coursing. There is an appearance of meanness and weakness, especially when this work is compared with the masonry of other parts. The towers which do occur are built to meet some special need and are of slighter proportions than the towers of the regular system. The builders were above all practical: their finest and strongest work was reserved for the most exposed points and there is not that uniform standard of excellence which is found at Messene or Samikon. Paradoxical as it may seem, this meaner type, occurring where it does, marks an advance in engineering. Where great strength is needed, it is found; where a smaller expenditure of labour suffices, there is no lavish squandering of time and trouble.

A regular system of tower and curtain was employed when the wall was to be carried across level ground: it is thus frequently found in the acropolis and in the lower town alike. The masonry of both wall and tower is massive, and large well squared blocks are the rule. The towers are perhaps not bonded into the curtain at all, in which case the curtain wall is continued through the tower or *vice versa*, and are structurally independent. Or, more often, the towers are lightly bonded in: in these

cases it is usual to find only the third course of the tower bonded into the circuit-wall which is continued through the tower. In no case are the flanks of the tower firmly bonded into the circuit-wall.

Great attention is directed to the tactical possibilities of the ground, and in nothing more than in the choice of a pivot about which the defences were to be erected. Two striking examples may be given. The first, relating to the defence of an acropolis, is the great tower at Lilaia: the

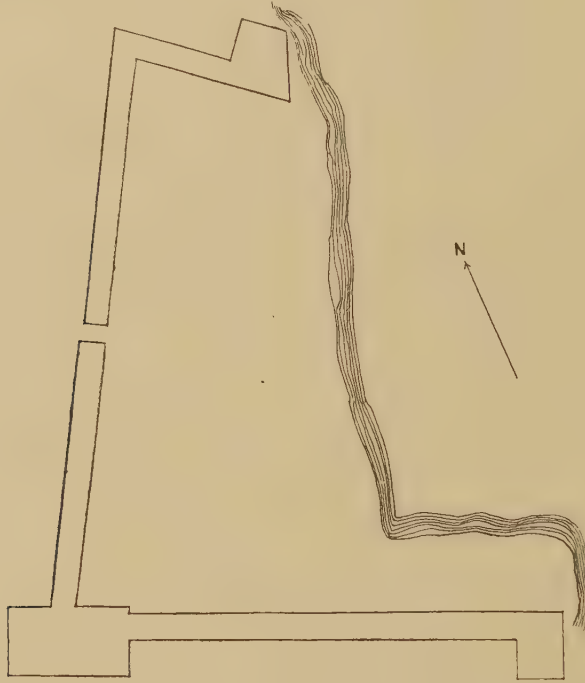


FIG. 8.—LILAIA: PLAN OF THE HIGHEST COMPARTMENT OF THE ACROPOLIS. (Scale 1 : 800.)

acropolis was defended on the east by the precipitous cliffs which drop into the Agorianitsa ravine; it was further divided into three natural compartments which would easily be isolated. The third and highest of these forms the keep (Fig. 8), and the highest point of this is occupied by the tower in question: the tower was solid to the level of the allure with which two doors communicated. In the single storey which remains, only one

loophole is pierced, but we may suppose at least one more storey with the customary windows.

The second example is the large tower at Tithorea, which is built at the junction of the north and west walls (Fig. 9). It occupied a low-lying



FIG. 9.—TITHOREA: A 'LOOK-OUT' TOWER IN THE WALL ON THE
'LOWER PEAK.'

and exposed position and had consequently to be of great strength. Its dimensions, however, hardly exceed those of the adjoining towers, but great care has been expended on the arrangement of the loopholes, six of which

are found in the lower chamber; this was at the level of the allure to which two doors gave ready access. In the top of the second course above the loopholes notches were cut to receive the floor-beams of the second chamber, which commanded a wide view from its two windows. The tower is itself flanked by other towers in the north and west walls respectively (Fig. 10).

The engineers of these fortresses were quick to utilise the rocks which covered the sites: in many cases the rock is allowed to take the place of



FIG. 10.--TITHOREA: THE 'FIRST' TOWER (from the Allure).

hewn blocks in the wall and it is frequently employed as the base of a tower. We may instance the tower which guards the south gate at Panopeus—the gate which Frazer calls unflanked.

There are, further, some details which are found in the towers: all the towers bear chisel-marks at their angles, and the same drafting is found on doors and gates. There is also a general tendency to use large, high blocks:

in the most regular masonry the average height is between '60 and '70 m., and blocks are occasionally '80 m. or even '90 m. in height. In contrast with these are the blocks in the Kononian walls of the Piraeus which range from '45 to '50 m. but are generally '48 in height. This lower type of block prevails at Phyle, Eleutherai, Aigosthenai, and Messene and should represent some Greek measure. In the fourth century a new type of tower becomes common: the tower has a solid, *i.e.* rubble-filled basis, and two or more storeys above it; the defenders are thus protected on all sides and the tower becomes a defensible unit. The employment of loopholes is a necessary corollary to the adoption of this type of tower. The earliest dated examples are perhaps found in the Kononian walls on Mounychia; then come Messene, Eleutherai, and Aigosthenai. From the fact that we cannot trace any evolution of this type, but find at once, *e.g.* at Messene, a fully developed form, we may reasonably infer that it was evolved outside Greece proper and introduced.

Another type of tower was employed in which there is but one fighting platform and no roof or all-round protection, but merely a parapet. This occurs at Phyle and Panopeus: the greater freedom thus obtained was perhaps some compensation for the inferior protection offered.

In Phokis the covered type predominates, and the use of the unprotected tower may be a survival. At any rate the covered type ultimately prevailed in Greece and is a feature of Byzantine fortification.

The use of loopholes and windows, of which the large tower at Tithorea offers the clearest example, may be noted, for Ulrichs supposes that the former were the invention of Archimedes. Frazer rightly objects to this view, which, as he points out, rests on a misconstruction of Livy's words. A positive proof, if such is now needed, of their earlier use is afforded by the dated fortress of Messene. The towers there are no longer of the unroofed type, protected merely by a breastwork, but are two-storeyed constructions, and, if towers of this type are to be of any use, loopholes must be provided: consequently the loopholes at Messene cannot be a later addition.

The coping which surmounted the wall may be briefly mentioned. At Tithorea the wall descends the slope rapidly and the coping is broken into a series of steps (Fig. 11). At Lilaia, in a similar position, greater ingenuity has been shown and the coping is so broken as to form alternately battlements and embrasures. I found no trace of battlements in the

more level parts of the enceintes, but doubtless they are to be presumed.

The gates do not call for special comment. Where the towers extended into the plain, the main gateway must have been in the lower



FIG. II.—TITHOREA: COPING *in situ* ON THE WALL.

portion, which has frequently disappeared or become wholly ruinous. Where the town lay entirely on the hill, there was less reason for the accumulation of artificial defences: the gateway at Daulis, which is on the over-lapping principle and approached by a ramp hewn in the rock, is

effective, but contains no new idea. There is one peculiarity, however, which must strike the observer—the absence of posterns. At Daulis, Tithorea and Charadra practically the whole line of the enceinte can be traced and no posterns are found. At Drymos, Lilaia and Panopeus, the lower town has disappeared but no posterns are found: at Lilaia there is indeed a small opening 1·70 m. wide in the highest part of the acropolis (*see* sketch plan (Fig. 8), but, as this considerably exceeds the usual measurements (circa 1 m.) and forms the only means of entrance to the compartment, it can hardly be considered in the light of a postern. In the towns that are less well preserved the same is true: gates are found either in the second line of defence or, if pierced in the circuit-wall, exceed the dimensions of a postern. This absence of posterns cannot be accidental and forms a striking contrast to the numerous posterns at Samikon and Phigaleia or Eleutherai and the Piraeus.

The wholesale destruction of the Phokian towns after 346 was accomplished by Philip without much trouble. He selected his tools with his usual sagacity and called in the Thebans to that congenial task, to aid the mercenaries he had detached.¹

The period to which we may assign the restoration is obvious and has been suggested above in the remarks on Tithorea. Köchly² tried to ascertain which towns were rebuilt in the winter 339–8 by the Thebans and Athenians. Only in the case of Ambrysos can certainty be attained. Be that as it may, it is probable that Philip encouraged the Phokians to rebuild after Chaironeia. Ten years scattered in villages—to say nothing of the other losses involved—was a severe penalty for the Phokians. The type of fortifications which has been described above will thus date from the last quarter of the fourth century.

LAURENCE B. TILLARD.

¹ Dem. xix. 92.

² Cited in Kromayer, *op. cit.* i. 135.

A THOLOS TOMB AT KIRK KILISSE.

(PLATE XX.)

IN the rather uninteresting landscape of the Thracian plains artificial mounds are almost everywhere a conspicuous feature. These mounds have long attracted the attention of archaeologists, but, on the Turkish side of the frontier at least, few have been scientifically explored. In Eastern Rumelia, where considerably more has been done, excavation has shewn that a large proportion of the mounds are places of burial, others representing, like the Thessalian *magoules*, prehistoric settlements, and others again sites of ancient watch-towers or even of Turkish camps.¹

The neighbourhood of Kirk Kilisse, some thirty-five miles east of Adrianople, boasts its full share of these monuments. About half an hour south of the town is a group of three tumuli in a line running W.S.W. and E.N.E. All are said to have been excavated by the Russians during the campaigns of 1828 and 1878.² The southernmost tomb of the group remains open, shewing the arrangement of the tomb-chamber and its approach. These are solidly constructed of large squared blocks of the local calcareous stone, put together without mortar. A short passage, opening nearly due south and roofed with a barrel-vault of massive blocks, gives access by a simple lintel-doorway to the tomb proper. The latter is an approximately square chamber about three metres each way, barrel-vaulted in the axis of the entrance, and destitute of ornament. The middle tumulus of the three seems to have had a similar arrangement, though the passage is now nearly destroyed and the tomb-chamber blocked up. This tomb also opens southward.

¹ See especially Seure, *Voyage en Thrace*, in *B.C.H.* xxv. 156 ff., and on the subject in general, Dumont, *Mélanges*, 197, who compares Hdt. v. 8.

² M. Christodoulos, *Περιγραφή τῶν Σαράντα Ἐκκλησιῶν*, p. 23.

Another tumulus formerly existed on a slight eminence half an hour west of the town. This was demolished in October 1891¹ to provide earth for a neighbouring fort. The operation revealed a tomb-chamber of remarkable form with its contents intact. The bones of the dead chief lay on a marble bier with rests at the head and feet:² with them were found the remains of a horse and various metal objects now exhibited in the Bronze Room of the Imperial Museum at Constantinople. These figure in the catalogue as follows:—

163. Bronze-gilt *oinochoe*, 0·23 m. high, with *emblema* of bearded man's head.
 164. Silver *oinochoe*, 0·10 m. high, with *emblema* of winged genius.



FIG. 1.—FACADE OF THOLOS TOMB AT KIRK KILISSE.

175. Silver vase, 0·65 m. high, with foliage in relief.
 195. Silver patera, 0·13 m. in diameter.
 267. Shaft of bronze candelabrum, 0·75 m. high, with double-herm finial.
 273. Bronze-gilt helmet, 0·30 m. high, with neckguard, cheek-pieces, and short nose-piece: 'careful Hellenistic work.'
 310. Thin silver double-axe head, 0·21 m. long.

All these objects except the last are plainly of Hellenistic date, and of great historical interest as shewing the penetration of Greek *articles de luxe*

¹ M. Christodoulos, 'Η Θράκη p. 268.

This I have by hearsay only, but cf. the Macedonian tombs at Palatitza and Pydna (Heuzey, *Miss. en Macédoine*, Pls. 15, 16, 20).

into Thrace at this period. The building in which they were found deserves at least more notice than it has hitherto attracted: it has luckily been left as it was found (Figs. 1, 2).

As my rough drawings shew (Pl. XX. A, B, C) the tomb exhibits many of the characteristics of the Mycenaean *tholos*. The material is throughout the soft local limestone, and the arrangement similar in essentials to that of the tomb described above. The simple lintel doorway with slightly convergent jambs faces ten degrees east of south. It is set in a short *façade* of regularly-coursed blocks; the outer ends of this, as is indicated by the surfaces left rough, were intended to be hidden by the earth of the tumulus.



FIG. 2.—THOLOS TOMB AT KIRK KILISSE FROM THE EAST.

From the entrance a short passage¹ roofed with slabs leads to a circular *tholos*, 3·92 m. in diameter and about 3·45 m. high: the line of the left wall of the entrance-passage (not its axis) cuts, if produced, the centre of the *tholos*. The latter is built of solid blocks regularly coursed and finely jointed without mortar, the vertical joints being uniformly perpendicular. The average length of the stones in the lower courses is about 0·62 m., an exceptionally long stone measuring 1·66 m. The vault is formed by corbelling out each successive course slightly beyond the one below it;

¹ On the right wall of this passage are some childish *graffiti* of human figures and a cross-barred Θ , which, however, may equally well have been intended for a wheel. It should be remarked that the lintel of the tomb proper is not relieved as in most Mycenaean examples.

the last of the fourteen courses is a large covering-slab measuring 1.04 × 1.00 × 0.22 m. The stones are left rough outside, where they were hidden by the earth of the tumulus, but their inner faces are elaborately dressed; each course after the third from the ground is divided into a perpendicular and a concave surface, and the under side of the top block decorated with a rather feeble rosette in low relief.

In spite of certain obvious likenesses in design and construction to the Mycenaean *tholoi*, such scanty architectural details as exist in the Kirk Kilisse tomb—the rosette of the vault and the moulding above the outer door—have nothing Mycenaean about them: I have Mr. Dinsmoor's authority for saying that the latter cannot be earlier than the fourth century B.C. The contents of the tomb may therefore quite well represent the original interment, and the building must be considered a late survival of primitive technique.¹

There is in all probability a close connection between it and the *tholos*-tombs of Pantikapaion, which were ordinarily covered with tumuli. Here, though a square ground-plan seems to have been preferred, there is at least one example (the Mont d'Or tomb) of a circular plan, and the horizontal system of vaulting persists till a very late date, the Pantikapaion tombs being placed not earlier than the fifth century B.C.² In detail it is interesting to remark that at Pantikapaion as at Kirk Kilisse, the corbelling of the vault is shewn without disguise inside the tomb, and that the only object not definitely Hellenistic among the contents of the Thracian *tholos*—the double axe—is found also in late South Russian burials.³

F. W. HASLUCK.

¹ A *tholos*-tomb at Cuma (*Mon. Ant.* xiii. 210 ff.) has been dated so late as the third century.

² S. Reinach, *Ant. Bosp. Cimm.* Pl. A, A₂, A_b: *Darm in Jahreshefte*, 1907, 230 ff.

³ *Arch. Anz.* xx, 65.

DAMOPHON OF MESSENE.—III.

HAD I been aware, when I published the reconstruction of the great group of Damophon at Lycosura in volume xiii. of this *Annual*, that there was even then lying under lock and key in the National Museum of Athens a coin bearing on its reverse a representation of that very group, such misgivings as I had about the correctness of my reconstruction would have been greatly intensified.

The lucky re-discovery of this coin (Fig. 1) and its publication by M. Staïs in the last number of the *Journal International d'Archéologie Numismatique* afford an embarrassing opportunity for testing the value of the reconstruction, in which M. Staïs has treated me with great consideration. Before discussing his analysis of the coin, I should like to express to him my gratitude for acquainting me so promptly with its discovery and providing me with a cast.

M. Staïs' praiseworthy rapidity in publication has prevented him, as he admits, from comparing the coin with the actual fragments of the group in the museum at Lycosura. He is careful to draw no conclusions himself, but, since there are points of difference between the coin and the reconstruction which may throw doubt upon the accuracy of the latter, I feel it incumbent on me to deal shortly with some of these differences.

To a very large extent, to the extent at any rate of the surfaces shaded in the illustration on Pl. XIII. of *B.S.A.* vol. xiii. (Fig. 3), the restoration is not theoretical, but derived directly from the extant remains. In estimating the importance of the coin it must be remembered that its value is *nil* as compared with any actually existing fragments, and its information not necessarily reliable in any detail of the restoration. Everyone who has dealt with coins and statues is well aware of the



FIG. 1.—BRONZE COIN OF MEGALOPOLIS. (Scale 5 : 2.)

OBV.—HEAD OF JULIA DOMNA (from M. Stais' article in *Journ. Int. d'Arch. Num.*).



FIG. 2.—RESTORATION OF THE GREAT GROUP AT LYCOSURA (from *B.S.A.* xiii. Pl. XII.).

discrepancies between the numismatic representation and its original, which are in fact inevitable owing to the differences in material, size, and field, as long as the coin-engraver is an artist and not a mere copyist. A Greek coin reproducing a work of sculpture will always omit some detail as unessential, and will modify others in conformity with the needs of space and symmetry. In this very coin, for instance, the footstool and the back of the throne are entirely omitted as



FIG. 3.—EXISTING FRAGMENTS OF THE LYCOSURA GROUP (from *B.S.A.* xiii. Pl. XIII.).

unessential, although we know that they existed. It is necessary, then, in interpreting its evidence to beware of possible modification.

M. Stais has noted four points of difference between the coin and the restoration in Fig. 2.

- (1) Artemis is in violent motion to the right with the right knee sharply bent, and not at rest.
- (2) The dog is behind the left instead of the right leg of Artemis.
- (3) The right arm of Demeter is raised high from the shoulder instead

of from the elbow, so as to be symmetrical with that of Despoina. She holds a short and not a long torch.

(4) Anytos' right hand rests on a shield and not on his hip, and therefore his arm hangs closer to his body.

A

B



FIG. 4.—TORSO OF DEMETER AT LYCOSURA
(from Kourouniotis, *Κατάλογος τοῦ Μουσείου Λυκοσούρας*, Figs. 6 and 10).

Before discussing more fundamental points let me repeat the statement on p. 379 of *B.S.A.* xiii. that no remains of the dog were discovered, and that consequently there was no evidence for its position on the drawing. I am unable to find the ἀμυδρότατα λείψανα, of which M. Stais speaks, either on the cast or the reproductions of the coin, but am quite willing to

accept their existence from the testimony of those who have seen the coin itself. The exact position of the dog could hardly be settled in any case from the evidence of the coin, since it is just one of those unessential points in which a coin-engraver regarded accuracy as unimportant.

In regard to the object held by Anytos' right hand, judging from an inspection of the cast and photographs only, I cannot feel complete confidence in the shield, but am very willing to defer to the opinions of MM. Stais, Svoronos, and Gaebler. Whatever the object is, it contradicts the pose with the hand on the hip holding a long end of drapery as originally proposed in my restoration. For a detail of this kind the evidence of the coin is quite convincing. A reference to pp. 382, 383 of *B.S.A.* xiii. will show that I made the restoration tentatively to account for a larger piece of drapery, which must now be relegated to some other position. It is gratifying to find that the equally conjectural restoration of Anytos' left arm and spear is confirmed by the coin.

The other two points in which the coin contradicts the restoration are more fundamental. According to the coin Demeter's left arm is raised shoulder-high holding a small torch, so that both her arms (the left is laid on Despoina's shoulder) are extended horizontally. Obviously this would look intolerably clumsy, though such an *a priori* reason is insufficient for disputing the evidence of the coin. But on reference to the well-preserved fragments of Demeter's torso and arm it becomes clear that the coin is at fault. Fig. 4 A shews the front view of Demeter's torso, and displays the fastening of her garment by means of two pins on each side, one above and one below the point of the shoulder. The extension of the left arm, therefore, draws the fulness of the garment away from the body. But the folds on the right side hang close against the body. It is therefore impossible that the right arm can have been extended. Moreover, a reference to Fig. 4 B, which shews the right side of Demeter's torso, indicates clearly the joining surface of the body and the upper arm which obviously hung close by the side. The arm itself is shewn in Fig. 5. If the coin were correct, this would be the back of the arm. But this is the side which is carefully finished, while the other side of the upper arm, which according to the coin would be visible from the front, is cut away, apparently for the purpose of fitting close against the side of the body. A glance at Fig. 4 A is sufficient to shew that the muscles and pose of the torso, as well as the drapery, prove that the arm hung by the side as far as

the elbow. This is just the sort of detail in which the coin-engraver is liable to allow the claims of symmetry to outweigh the claims of truth. The only fact we can accept from the coin is the size of the torch, which was wholly conjectural in the restoration.

Finally there is the question of the pose of Artemis. The coin represents her in rapid motion to the right with the right knee sharply bent. M. Staïs even thinks it was raised on a support of some kind, *ἐδράζοντος ὡς ἐπὶ ὑψώματος*, though I doubt if the greater height of the right knee is due to anything more than a fault of the artist. My

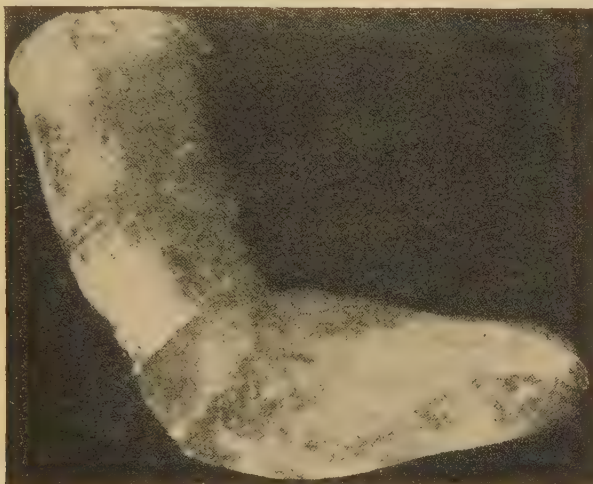


FIG. 5.—RIGHT ARM OF DEMETER.
(From Kourouniotis, *op. cit.* Fig. 13).

restoration is a little misrepresented by the drawing. On p. 377 of *B.S.A.* xiii. I wrote 'the right foot is flat, and the knee bent, while the left foot is raised on the toes, and the knee is nearly straight. This gives the position of the right leg as striding forward with the knee slightly bent, while the left leg is being drawn after it, *i.e.* we have really a position in arrested motion and not a position of rest.' M. Staïs is therefore not quite accurate in stating *ὁ κ. Dickins*, *ὀρμώμενος πάντως ἐκ τῆς διαμορφώσεως τοῦ διασωθέντος ἀριστεροῦ ἄκρου ποδὸς τῆς θεᾶς καμπτομένου κατὰ τὸ πέλμα, ἐξέλαβεν αὐτόν, ὀρθῶς, ὡς Spielbein καὶ συνεπλήρωσε τὴν*

μορφὴν ἐν ἀκινήσῃ, στηριζομένην ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ ποδός ('in a position of rest supported on the right foot').

The drawing is unfortunate in so far as it represents the right knee practically straight where it should have been slightly bent, but my restoration was not wholly based on the feet ('ὀρμώμενος πάντως') for the



FIG. 6.—THE LEGS OF ARTEMIS.
(Existing fragments of the right foot and the middle of the left shin
are not included in this drawing)

simple reason that both knees are in existence and that therefore the matter does not admit of argument. As a reference to Fig. 6 shews at once, the right knee is only very slightly bent and therefore the coin is wrong. The pose of Artemis' feet and legs is in no way conjectural.

In these cases of divergence, then, the pose of Anytos' right arm and

the size of Demeter's torch are the only corrections we can accept from the coin, since its evidence is dubious in the matter of the dog, and erroneous on the subject of the poses of Artemis and Demeter.

There are two other points on which the coin runs counter to my restoration:—it omits the drapery between the legs of Artemis and the drapery hanging from the left hand of Despoina (the well-known fragment in the museum at Athens). Unfortunately they are not the sort of details on which it would be permissible to seek coin-evidence, and their absence from the coin certainly does not prove erroneous restoration. They are, however, the most disputed features of the reconstruction, and I can only refer to my original arguments on pp. 373 and 378 of *B.S.A.* xiii.

M. Kourouniotis' *Catalogue* (p. 39 and Figs. 33 and 34) illustrates the existing fragments by which the *himation* of Artemis is proved, although the coin omits it. No light appears to be thrown by the coin on the snakes in the left hand of Artemis.

GUY DICKINS.

SOME NOTES ON THE MONUMENT OF PORPHYRIOS AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

THE monument of the charioteer Porphyrios which stands in the Atrium of the church of St. Irene at Constantinople will no doubt be an object of interest now that the church has been thrown open to the public as a Military Museum. The description of it by Mordtmann which appeared in 1880¹ is still the best available, and except for some further remarks by the same writer² nothing seems to have been published subsequently concerning it until the appearance last year of a short paper by M. J. Ebersolt³ who treats the sculptured reliefs from the artistic standpoint, and discusses the place which they occupy in the history of Byzantine Art.

The notes which I publish here consist of a few comments on the texts of the inscriptions as printed by Mordtmann, and small corrections in them, together with a suggested interpretation, which seems new, of one of the scenes sculptured on the stele, and a short account, kindly supplied by Professor J. B. Bury, of the language and metre of the inscriptions in popular Greek which appear on two of the four sides of the stele. I have not had the advantage of seeing the monument myself, but am indebted to Mr. W. S. George for admirable photographs of it and squeezes of the inscriptions, and for a description of the reliefs to Mr. A. J. B. Wace, who examined them at my request in April 1911.

¹ *Ath. Mitt.* v. (1880), pp. 295 ff.

² *Esquisse topographique de Constantinople* (1892), pp. 49, 68.

³ *Revue Arch.* xviii. (1911, juillet-août), pp. 76 ff., with a full bibliography.

Side A (= 'Nordostseite' in Mordt., = 'Côté nord' in Eb.)

ΔΗΜΟΣ ΠΡΑΣΙΝΩΝ
 ΑΓΕΤΑΙ ΟΥΚ ΑΓΕΤΑΙ ΟΥ ΜΕΛΕΙΜΟΙ Δ Ο ΣΗΜΙΝ [†]ΠΟΡΦΥΡΙΝ
 ΙΝΟΥΣ ΠΟΡΦΥΡΙΝ
 ΕΤΕΡΨΕΝ ΕΙΣ Δ ΕΝΕΤΟΝ ΤΕΡΨΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΠΡΑΣΙΝΟΝ
 ΕΙΔ' ΑΥΤΟΣ ΛΑΒΙΤΟ ΔΗΜΟΣΙΟΝ

In l. 3, Mordtmann, partly following Kaibel,¹ reads Π[ρασ]ίνους Πορφύριν, and says that the first four letters have been intentionally erased, and that traces of the Π are still visible. I cannot however, see on the squeeze either 'die deutlich erkennbare Vertiefung' which he mentions² as proof of the erasure, or the 'schwache Spuren' of the Π. Moreover there is visible after the ΙΝ an apostrophe, not noticed by Mordtmann, which compels us to read ἴν' οὗς Πορφύριν, and to assume that this is a mistake for Πορφύρι(ο)ς. This, though unattractive, is perhaps confirmed by the fact that ll. 2 and 4 now begin at an exactly equal distance from the edge of the stone, namely the space of four letters to the right of the beginnings of ll. 1 and 3. Certainly the rejected reading has more point, especially if we may assume with Mordtmann that the accusative might here have the value of the dative; but the evidence of the stone is decisive in favour of ἴν' οὗς Πορφύριν. Mordtmann does not indicate either in his majuscule copy, or in his 'touched-up' lithograph (*op. cit.* Pl. XVI.) exactly the right spot at which ll. 2 and 4 begin.

L. 4. The eleventh letter is not Β, as Mordtmann has it, but Ε (*stigma*): the letter is slightly damaged, but unmistakable, as the facsimile shows.

Side B (= 'Nordwestseite' in Mordt., = 'Côté ouest' in Eb.)

In l. 2 of the inscription below the relief representing the chariot Mordtmann reads³ the thirteenth sign as [†]Π, but the squeeze, and even Ebersolt's (not very distinct) illustration,⁴ shows that it is ^ηΠ, *i.e.* the omitted ν from ἐνέκησεν inserted later above the line.

¹ *Epigrammata Graeca*, 935, where however Π[ρασ]ίνους is suggested as an emendation: this is not justified by the stone, for the *upsilon* is plain.

² *Ath. Mitt.* v. p. 301.

³ *Op. cit.* p. 304.

⁴ *Rev. Arch. op. cit.* p. 84.

Before leaving the inscriptions in popular Greek, I should like to observe, at the risk of trespassing on the ground covered by Professor Bury's note, that Mordtmann's explanation of the metre does not seem at all convincing: he suggests 'dass die Factionspoeten möglicherweise eine Karikatur auf den eleganten Versbau in dem obersten Stockwerk des Cippus beabsichtigen'!¹ While admitting that *μόνος ἐνίκησεν Πορφύρις ὁ εὐδόκιμος* has a distant resemblance to a pentameter,² with one syllable too many in the second half, it is very hard to believe that *ἄγεται οὐκ ἄγεται οὐ μέλει μοι δὸς ἡμῖν Πορφύριον* could be even a 'Karikatur' of a hexameter.³ Moreover, this explanation involves the unlikely assumption that the 'Factionspoeten' had in view the epigrams on the monument when composing these *χορευτικά*, whereas it is surely more probable that they were informal faction-cheers made up before or during the racing, and not merely after the erection of the statue-base on which they were engraved long after the performance of the particular feats to which they refer.⁴

The Missing Epigrams from the Front and Back of the Stele.

The fact that the epigrams engraved on the two sides of the stele occur close together in the Anthology⁵ suggests the strong presumption that they were entered in that collection in the exact order in which they were copied in the Hippodrome, and therefore that the front and back contained Nos. 341 and either 339 or 343. We may even go further, on the evidence of the subjects of the reliefs on these two faces, for the expressions in No. 341 suit B (the front)⁶ better than D (the back), and in turn No. 343, which is somewhat vague, suits D better than B, and No. 339 is not especially appropriate to either face. For in No. 341, l. 2, we may perhaps consider the words *Νίκης ἐγγύθι* suitable to the Victories crowning the successful Porphyrios (though they refer primarily to the position of the statue in the Hippodrome⁷), and certainly in ll. 5 and 6 the

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 305.

² *Op. cit.* p. 306; Mordtmann would scan it *μόνος ἐνίκησε | Πορ|φύρις ὁ | εὐδόκι|μος||*.

³ *Ibid.* scanned *ἄγεται | οὐκ ἄγε|ται οὐ μέ|λει μοι δὸς | ἡμῖν Πορ|φύριον (!)*

⁴ Might we in any case credit the spectators in the Hippodrome with a sufficient taste for literary parody?

⁵ *Anthologia Planudea*, Nos. 340, 342.

⁶ Mr. Wace kindly informs me that from the cuttings visible on the top of the stele, B was clearly the front.

⁷ Cf. *Anth. Plan.* 345: *Ἐγγύθι τῆς Νίκης καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου βασιλῆος Ἔσσης - -*.

words ἵππους κρείσσοντας ἀντιπορών suit exactly the scene on the lower relief of B, which, as is suggested below, represents the διβέρσιον. Again, as the large-scale relief on D is perhaps a copy of the bronze statue which our stele supported, the allusion in No. 343, l. 1, to the εἰκὼν χαλκείη would come appropriately here. There is less to be said in favour of the view that D bore No. 339, which is an epigram recording a dedication by the Blues, for there is nothing here indicating the Blue or any other Faction in particular. Thus we may conclude that the epigrams engraved on the stele were Nos. 340–343, inclusive, and that the copyist read first that on side A, and then in succession those on B, C, and D.

There is scarcely sufficient evidence to warrant a conjecture as to who erected the statue supported on this base. The first two lines of the epigram (No. 340):

[Ἦ]λοις πανσαμένοισιν, ἀ[εθλεύοντι δὲ μούνῳ]
[Π]ορφυρίῳ βασιλεὺς τοῦτο δ[έδωκε γέρας.]

can hardly mean that the statue itself was a gift from the Emperor, but rather that the privilege of receiving a statue while still in the midst of his career, instead of on retirement, was the form which the Emperor's γέρας to Porphyrios took.¹

The Lower Scene on A.

This represents two grooms (σταβλησιανοί) each holding four horses by their bridles. Mordtmann² confines his attention to explaining the significance of the knots in which the horses' tails are tied, for it seems that these knots were undone only when owing to some injury or other cause the horses' racing days were over. Ebersolt³ suggests that the scene represents the 'parade' (πομπή τῶν ἵππων) which took place before the race, to show off the competing horses to the public. It seems more appropriate to interpret the scene as the preliminary stage of the

¹ Mordtmann, *op. cit.* p. 301, suggests that it is a dedication by the four Factions together, and thinks that we may see in the spectators acclaiming the victor in the lower reliefs on the narrower sides, five representatives each of Blues, Greens, Reds, and Whites. Of this I am by no means convinced, though the spectators on A may probably be all regarded as Greens, in view of the words Δῆμος Πρασίνων before the χορευτικόν written above them on the stone.

² *Op. cit.* p. 307.

³ *Op. cit.* p. 80 f.

διβέρσιον,¹ in which the teams recently driven by Porphyrios and his rival are being exchanged, for the former to drive the latter's horses and *vice versa*.²

A. M. WOODWARD.

NOTE ON THE METRE OF THE INSCRIPTIONS IN POPULAR GREEK.

The inscriptions in popular Greek on A and B are highly interesting as the earliest examples of the metrical cries of the Factions of the Hippodrome. Hitherto the earliest known example dated from about half a century later, in A.D. 561 (see Theophanes, ed. De Boor, 236). Then we have several acclamations in the record of A.D. 602. Phocas was greeted by the chant :—

ὑπαγε, μάθε τὴν κατάστασιν,	‘ Away, understand the situation,
ὁ Μαυρίκιος οὐκ ἀπέθανεν,	Maurice is not dead,
<ὑπαγε>, μάθε τὴν ἀλήθειαν.	(Away), learn the truth !’

(See Theoph. Simoc, [304 ed. de Boor], and John of Antioch, 218^d, in *F.H.G.* v. 37.) Each verse has ten syllables and the accent falls on the antepenultimate. In all this popular ‘poetry,’ the metre depends not on quantity but on the number of syllables and the accent. Again the Blues greeted Phocas with :—

πάλιν ’ς τὸν καῦκον ἔπιες,	‘ Again you drank of the cup,
πάλιν τὸν νοῦν ἀπώλεσας.	Again you lost your wits !’

(John of Ant. 218^e *ib.*), where the verses are similarly proparoxyton, but have eight syllables.³ The verses on the Porphyrios monument are

¹ We have a full description of the διβέρσιον in Constantine Porphyrogennetos, *De Cerimoniis Ant. Byz.* [ed. Bonn], p. 336 ; καὶ φέρουσιν οἱ ἡνίοχοι τοὺς ἀφέτας, τὰ ἱπάρια, τοὺς θυρανόκτας καὶ τοὺς θεωρητάς, καὶ παραδίδουσι ἀλλήλοις τὰ ἄρματα . . . , ἀντιπαραδίδουσι τοὺς ἵππους καὶ τοὺς ὑπουργούντας, ὡς γνωρίζοντας τὰς τε ἐξεις (MSS. ἐξης) καὶ τὰ κατὰθηκα αὐτῶν. These regulations are followed by a detailed account of the procedure to be followed in the event of any omission in making these exchanges.

² Cf. *Anth. Plan.* 374, on a charioteer Constantine, who

ἤμειψε μὲν ἵππους
ἀντιπάλοις· κείνους δὲ λαβὼν οἷς πρόσθεν ἐνίκα
τοῖς αὐτοῖς πάλιν εἶλε μίαν τε καὶ εἴκοσι νίκας.

³ Verses sung by the Factions in mockery of Maurice in A.D. 602 are preserved by John of Ant. 218^e *ib.* and Theophanes, ed. De Boor, 283. The metre is trochaic and Krumbacher has attempted to reconstruct them (*Gesch. der byz. Litt.*² 792).

framed on the same principle, but show more freedom than these specimens. In B we have :—

ὅλους ὧδε ὅλους ἐκεῖ ¹	‘ Porphyrios the glorious
καὶ διβέρσια δεύτερον	alone conquered all on
μόνος ἐνίκησεν	this side, all on that, and won
Πορφύρις ὁ εὐδόκιμος.	a second time in the Diversia.’

All except the third are octosyllabic.² All except the first are proparoxyton.

The A inscription is more complex :—

ἄγεται οὐκ ἄγεται ³	‘ No matter whether it is
οὐ μέλει μοι, δὸς ἡμῖν	in order or not, give us
Πορφύριν,	Porphyrios,
ἵν’ οὖς Πορφύρι(ς)	that those whom he
ἔτερψεν εἰς φέετον	pleased (by winning) for the Blues
τέρψει καὶ εἰς Πράσινον,	he may also please (by winning) for the Greens ;
εἰ δ’, αὐτὸς	then (lit. “ if he do so ”), let him
λάβει τὸ δημόσιον.	receive the Demosion himself.’ ⁴

Here five verses are of the same form, trochaic, heptasyllabic, and proparoxyton, and three short irregular clauses are interpolated.

J. B. BURY.

P.S.—Since the above note was written, an article by P. Maas, *Metrische Akklamationen der Byzantiner* appeared in the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, xxi. (1912) 28 sqq., in which he has collected and commented on a series of texts. (The author has not dealt with the Porphyrios inscriptions, but I understand that he will do so in a subsequent paper.) He attempts to show that the ἄκτα διὰ Καλαπόδιον—the conversation between Justinian and the Greens—which Theophanes inserts in his

¹ Cp. Theophanes 236, ἄψον ὧδε, ἄψον ἐκεῖ.

² Is it possible that in l. 3 a second *μόνος* has been omitted by mistake ?

³ For ἄγεται here I do not know a parallel. I believe that the phrase means ‘ whether it is in order or not—whether it is on the programme or not ’ ; and that ἄγω is affected by the uses of the Latin *ago*.

⁴ The sense seems to be, we shall not mind his winning the Demosion though he is a Blue. Cf. *Antih. Plan.* 341 νεῖκος ἀπειπάμενοι.

account of the Nika revolt (A.D. 532) are metrical, and his analysis certainly makes it clear that some metrical passages occur in it, *e.g.* :

οὐδὲ τὸ παλάτιν,	τρισαύγουστε,
οὐδὲ πολιτείας	κατάστασις·
μίαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν	προέρχομαι,
ὅταν εἰς βορδώνιν	καθέζομαι·
εἴθους μὴδὲ τότε,	τρισαύγουστε.

The author shows that it is very doubtful whether these *ᾄκτα* belong to A.D. 532. They are really irrelevant in the context.

J. B. B.

A NOTE ON THE ΘΗΛΕΑ ΝΟΥΣΟΣ OF THE SKYTHIANS.

IN a note on the Argive festival of the Hybristika I mentioned the diviners of Skythia as examples of that strange phenomenon familiar among many savage peoples, the magician who dresses as a woman.¹ As the *θήλεα νοῦσος* has been somewhat of a *crux* to Herodotean scholars, I may perhaps be allowed to develop the point a little more at length.

It has usually been suggested that the *θήλεα νοῦσος* must be explained either as a vice, or as a bodily disease, or as a mental affliction.² None of these theories, however, accounts for all the features of the evidence which we possess, and can only be tortured into conformity by the Procrustean ingenuity of the scholar. Those, for example, who explain the *θήλεα νοῦσος* as a vice, have further to show why those who are afflicted with it form a definite class, why they are connected especially with Askalon, and why they are magicians.

A fourth explanation has been suggested by Professor Myres.³ He argues that the appearance of beardless races in the Nearer East impressed Greek imagination, and has left its traces in the traditions of the Amazons. He supposes that in Askalon there survived in the 5th century the descendants of certain beardless raiders from the North East, and that Herodotos, observing in Skythia a hairless Mongol element in the population, naturally connected it with a similar physical type which he knew to exist in Askalon. The old theory that beardlessness implies femininity accounts for the other characteristics with which the Skythians are credited, and explains the name *θήλεα νοῦσος*.

¹ *B.S.A.* xvi. p. 214.

² See Macan's note on Herodotos, iv. 67.

³ *Anthropology and the Classics*, pp. 137 foll.

I confess that even the theory about the Amazons seems to me possible rather than probable. But even admitting the claim that the Amazon stories have their origin in travellers' tales about a comparatively hairless physical type of invader from the North East, there are serious flaws in the argument by which Professor Myres endeavours to explain the story of the *θήλεα νοῦσος* as having its origin in the same historical fact. The point which strikes the critic at once is that in Professor Myres' account the emphasis is laid on the beardlessness of the Skythians; the other characteristics of these *ἀνδρόγυννοι*, their impotence, their feminine costume, and so on, he calls 'reputed concomitants' of beardlessness. The curious feature of the Greek accounts when placed beside that of Professor Myres is this, that not one of them so much as mentions whether those who suffered from *θήλεα νοῦσος*, had beards or not; not a word is said about this beardlessness which, we are asked to believe, so forcibly impressed Greek imagination. Professor Myres in fact discredits the importance of the characteristics which our authorities *did* notice as 'reputed concomitants' of a feature which they do not mention, but which, he assures us, really impressed them much more and was the cause of their imagining vain things.

Again, it has always been the difficulty of those who have offered explanations of the story of the *θήλεα νοῦσος* to account for the connection of the Skythians with Askalon. Professor Myres insidiously suggests that there were actually beardless descendants of Skythian raiders in the 5th century. But Herodotos does not even imply it. I am tempted to believe that there may have been an obvious reason why Hippokrates 'does not make use of the crucial instance of the beardless Scythians at Askalon, to test his conclusion that beardlessness and the like are the effect of climate,' *viz.* that there were no Skythians at Askalon.

Finally, the theory that the *Ἐνάρες* were a *tribe* of hairless Mongols does not square with Greek tradition, in which they figure as a *profession* or *class*.

What are the characteristics ascribed to the *Ἐνάρες* by our authorities? They suffer from sexual impotence; they dress in women's clothes; they are called *Ἐνάρες* and are said to suffer from *θήλεα νοῦσος*, the result of a curse; they are diviners; they are called kings; they are connected by legend with Askalon. Hippokrates describes them in the following terms: *ἔτι τε πρὸς τούτοισιν εὐνουχίαι γίγνονται οἱ πλείστοι ἐν Σκύθησι καὶ*

γυναικεῖα ἐργάζονται καὶ ὡς αἱ γυναῖκες διαλέγονται ὁμοίως· καλεῦνται τε οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἀνανδριεῖς. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐπιχώριοι τὴν αἰτὴν προστιθέασι θεῷ καὶ σέβονται τούτους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ προσκυνέουσι, δεδοκότες περὶ ἑωυτῶν ἕκαστοι· νομίσαντές τι ἡμαρτηκέναι τῷ θεῷ ὃν ἐπαιτιῶνται ἐνδύονται στολὴν γυναικεῖην καταγόντες ἑωυτῶν ἀνανδρεῖν· γυναικίζουσί τε καὶ ἐργάζονται μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν ἃ καὶ ἐκεῖναι.

The reason that Hippokrates alleges for their sanctity is not convincing: the main facts, however, which he gives are not without parallels which may suggest a different answer. Throughout the tribes of North America, in India, in Africa, in North-Eastern Asia, and among many savage peoples, examples are to hand of diviners or *shamans* who become women, dress as women, and do women's work. Dr. Frazer has collected a host of witnesses.² Among the Chukchi, the nomads of North-Eastern Siberia, the matter is carried so far that the transformed person is even said to marry and perform the duties of a housewife.³ Sometimes these men in women's clothes are servants of a goddess.⁴ In some cases they are born eunuchs or hermaphrodites,⁵ in some they are not even emasculate.⁶ I will here quote but one description. 'In the Pelew Islands it often happens that a goddess chooses a man not a woman for her minister and inspired mouthpiece. When that is so, the favoured man is thenceforth regarded and treated as a woman. He wears female attire, he carries gold on his

¹ Hippokrates, περὶ ἀέρων, 22. The other passages which give the information stated are the following: οἱ δὲ ἐπεῖτε ἀναχωρόντες ὀπίσω ἐγένοντο τῆς Συρίας ἐν Ἀσκάλωνι πόλει, τῶν πλεόνων Σκυθῶν παρελθόντων ἄσινένων, ὀλίγοι τινὲς αὐτῶν ὑπολειφθέντες ἐσύλησαν τῆς οὐρανῆς Ἀφροδίτης τὸ ἱρόν. . . . τοῖσι δὲ τῶν Σκυθῶν συλήσασι τὸ ἱρόν τὸ ἐν Ἀσκάλωνι, καὶ τοῖσι τούτων αἰεὶ ἐκγόνοισι ἐνέσκηψε ὁ θεὸς θήλειαν νοῦσον· ὥστε ἅμα λέγουσιν τε οἱ Σκύθαι διὰ τοῦτο σφέας νοσείν, καὶ ὁρᾶν παρ' ἑωυτοῖσι τοὺς ἀπικνεομένους ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν χώραν ὡς διακέαται τοὺς καλέουσι Ἐνάρεας οἱ Σκύθαι (Herodotos, i. 105). οἱ δὲ Ἐνάρεες οἱ ἀνδρόγυννοι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην σφίσι λέγουσι μαντικὴν δοῦναι· φιλύρης <δ> ὦν φλοιῷ μαντεύονται. ἐπεὰν τὴν φιλύρην τρίχα σχίσῃ, διαπλέκων ἐν τοῖσι δακτύλοις τοῖσι ἑωυτοῦ καὶ διαλύων χρᾶ (Herodotos, iv. 67). ἀλλ' εἴ τις πρὸς ἑς οἱ πολλοὶ δύνανται ἀντέχειν, τούτων ἥττωται καὶ μὴ δύναται ἀντιτείνειν, μὴ διὰ φύσιν τοῦ γένους ἢ διὰ νόσον, οἷον ἐν τοῖς Σκυθῶν βασιλεῦσιν ἡ μαλακία διὰ τὸ γένος, καὶ ὡς τὸ θῆλυ πρὸς τὸ ἄρρεν διέστηκεν (Aristotle, *Eth. Nik.* vii. 7).

² Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, and Osiris*, Appendix IV. pp. 430 foll.; cf. Kroeber, *The Arafaho*, *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History*, xviii. p. 19.

³ Bogoras, *The Chukchi of North-Eastern Asia*, *American Anthropologist*, N.S. iii. p. 98. He adds: 'Such full transformations are not numerous. In a tribe of 2000 men I heard of only five cases.'

⁴ *E.g.* the Sauks of North America or the devotees of the Indian goddess Huligamma. Frazer, *op. cit.* pp. 430, 225.

⁵ Frazer, *op. cit.* p. 225.

⁶ Bogoras, *loc. cit.*: 'Instances of partial transformation, whereby the men, assuming female clothing and speech, can still have a wife and beget children are more numerous' (among the Chukchi).

neck, he labours like a woman in the taro fields, and he plays his new part so well that he earns the hearty contempt of his fellows. This pretended change of sex under the inspiration of a female spirit perhaps explains a custom widely spread among savages in accordance with which some men dress as women and act as women through life. These unsexed creatures often, perhaps generally, profess the arts of sorcery and healing, they communicate with spirits and are regarded sometimes with awe and sometimes with contempt, as beings of a higher or lower order than common folk.¹

The existence therefore in semi-civilised society, of a class of persons with magical or divinatory powers, who wear female garments and do the work of women is not an unique phenomenon. So far as it goes the description of the 'Ενάρπες quoted from Hippokrates might be applied to any of these savage analogues who are also, like Herodotos' ἀνδρόγυνοι, magicians or diviners.

It remains to ask why they are connected with Askalon. The answer is not difficult. Askalon was the seat of the worship of the goddess Derketo, Atargatis, Attar, or Astarte.² Herodotos notices the connection of this cult with that at Paphos.³ The goddesses whose seats were at Babylon or Aphaka belong to the same order, and the goddess of Hierapolis, Bambyke was considered by some to be this same Derketo.⁴ At Askalon then is one of the most revered of the cults connected with the Asiatic Mother Goddess, whose rites throughout Asia Minor are remarkable for the practice of the sacred marriage, the worship of bisexual divinities, the consecration to the deity of eunuch votaries who dress in women's clothes. The great Artemis of Ephesus and the Syrian goddess of Hierapolis were served by votaries who at the annual festival of the goddess sacrificed their manhood and for the rest of their life wore female attire and female ornaments.⁵ Now, could the Greek naturally apply to these emasculate or emasculated priests the phrase θήλεα νοῦσος? A statement of Eusebius appears to settle the matter. Speaking of the eunuch priests of the Asiatic goddess at Aphaka he says: 'Γύνιδες γοῦν πινὲς ἄνδρες τὸ σεμνὸν τῆς φύσεως ἀπαρνησάμενοι θηλείᾳ νόσῳ τὴν δαίμονα ἰλεοῦντο.'⁶

¹ Frazer, *op. cit.* p. 428.

² Frazer, *op. cit.* p. 30.

³ Herodotos, i. 105.

⁴ Lucian, *de dea Syria*, 14.

⁵ Frazer, *op. cit.* p. 225 ; Lucian, *de dea Syria*, 27.

⁶ Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, iii. 55, quoted Frazer, *op. cit.* p. 64.

What I would suggest is that among the Skythians some Black Sea traveller, perhaps himself from Asia Minor, observed a class of magicians dressed in female attire, who naturally reminded him of the eunuch votaries of the Asiatic cults. Now one of the chief interests of the ancient traveller as of the modern, lay in observing and theorising about the various religions with which he came in contact. Herodotos' Egyptian theories are witness to the wild and ready speculation as to religious origins and derivations which was popular in the fifth century B.C. In trying to account for the similarity between the *shamans*, who dress as women, and the eunuch votaries of the Anatolian and Syrian cults, the legend that Askalon had once been sacked by Skythian raiders, will naturally at once occur to our traveller as the connecting link. - And hence we get the story of the curse of Aphrodite on the Skythians, who sacked her temple at Askalon, given as the explanation of the fact that among a people, whom Herodotos quite wrongly believes to be the descendants of the invaders of Asia, certain religious functionaries wear women's clothes and are *ἀνδρόγυνοι*.

It may be objected that the story speaks of the Skythian woman-clad priests as smitten by a curse, and Aristotle speaks of their *μαλακία διὰ τὸ γένος*. In answer we may refer to the savage parallels furnished by Dr. Frazer and 'the unfortunate destiny' which the Sauk *ἀνδρόγυνοι* 'cannot avoid,' or 'the mingled contempt and awe' with which savage society customarily regards these persons as 'of a higher or lower order than common folk.'

It remains to inquire whether the Skythian *Ἐνάρες* really did belong to the worship of a goddess of fertility and can be classed with the priests of Kybele and Attis. Now the ethnology and geography of Skythia as we get it in Herodotos is so vague, confused, and indeterminate that it is impossible to be at all positive on the point. There is a certain amount of evidence which falls in with the general position of Dr. Frazer. In his description of the Skythian religion, Herodotos lays some stress on the marital relation of a pair of deities, whom he calls Zeus and Hera, and applauds the piety which gave to the husband of Earth the title of *Papaïos*.¹ We may remember that the god and goddess of Hierapolis are called by Lucian Zeus and Hera,² while not only was Attis identified by the Bithynians with the Greek god Zeus, but his very name, according to

¹ Herodotos, iv. 59.

² Lucian, *de dea Syria*, 31.

the etymologists, is but a variant of his other title of Papas or Father.¹ Further, the chief of the divinities in Skythia as in Asia Minor, is a goddess, whom Herodotos calls Histia, and whose native name is Tabiti.² Again, the fact that Aristotle calls the Ἐνάρες βασιλεῖς might seem to support Dr. Frazer's theories about the king-god and his marriage with the goddess. But were these diviners kings? It is a point to which we will return.

I confess that my attitude towards the wide application of the main theory worked out in *Adonis*, *Attis*, and *Osiris* is one of considerable scepticism, and certainly it would not be true to say that all the savage instances of these ἀνδρόγυννοι can safely be interpreted on the hypothesis of a fertility motive. In the first place it is by no means invariably a goddess or a specifically female spirit who is the cause of the transformation of the *shaman* into a woman. And again, even in an instance of assimilating the servant to the deity, it is hard to find any trace of the divine lover *motiv* in the converse example of the Pythia who delivered the oracles of Mukasa, the deity of the Victoria Nyanza lake, and assumed when she prophesied, a masculine style of dress.³ In the specific case of Asia Minor it is difficult to deny a fertility motive and it may be that 'these feminine deities required to receive from their male ministers who personated the divine lovers, the means of discharging their beneficent functions: they had themselves to be impregnated by the lifegiving energy before they could transmit it.' At a certain stage of civilisation indeed and under certain conditions of environment, most rituals connected with sexual relations become interpreted as propagating fertility. Whether that was the motive which originally inspired their creation seems to me in many cases doubtful. Certainly in many of the instances of savage parallels to the Ἐνάρες there is no trace of a fertility element, and the question arises whether we are to group the Skythian diviners with the priests of the Mother Goddess, or with the *shamans* of the Chukchi. The answer depends largely, I think, on the view taken of their state of culture and of the conditions of the society of which they were members.

Now Aristotle calls the Skythians, who suffered from θήλεα νοῦσος, βασιλεῖς. None of our other authorities speaks of them as kings of the Skythians. Indeed only a person imperfectly acquainted with the size

¹ Frazer, *op. cit.* pp. 235-236.

² Herodotos, iv. 59.

³ Frazer, *op. cit.* p. 431.

and multiple ethnology of the tract called Skythia could speak other than loosely of a king of the Skythians at all.¹ Hippokrates tells us that the rich are more subject to the disease than the poor. τοῦτο δὲ πάσχουσι Σκυθέων οἱ πλούσιοι, οὐχ οἱ κάκιστοι, ἀλλ' οἱ εὐγενέστατοι καὶ ἰσχὺν πλείστην κεκτημένοι, διὰ τὴν ἵππασίνην· οἱ δὲ πένητες ἦσσαν. οὐ γὰρ ἵππάζονται.² One feature strikes the reader at once. This distinction between rich and poor is Greek and does not apply to nomads, all of whom necessarily have horses.

But Aristotle's kings and Hippokrates' aristocracy are perhaps explicable if we may suppose that these authors are looking at facts distorted through Greek spectacles. The βασιλεῖς and the πλούσιοι are, I believe, none other than Herodotos' Royal Skythians. Of these he says: πέρην δὲ τοῦ Γέρρου ταῦτα δὴ τὰ καλούμενα βασιλῆα ἐστὶ καὶ Σκύθαι· οἱ ἄριστοί τε καὶ πλείστοι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νομίζοντες Σκύθας δούλους σφετέρους εἶναι.³ Strabo perhaps more accurately defines their relations to the other tribes, οἱ οὖν νομάδες πολεμιστὰι μᾶλλον εἰσὶν ἢ ληστρικοί, πολεμοῦσι δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν φόρων. ἐπιτρέψαντες γὰρ ἔχειν τὴν γῆν τοῖς ἐθέλουσι γεωργεῖν ἀντὶ ταύτης ἀγαπῶσι φόρους λαμβάνοντες τοὺς συντεταγμένους μετρίους τινάς, οὐκ ἐς περιουσίαν ἀλλ' εἰς τὰ ἐφήμερα καὶ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα τοῦ βίου· μὴ διδόντων δὲ αὐτοῖς πολεμοῦσιν.⁴ Now it is *prima facie* probable that it is to these warrior Royal Skythians that the legends of the great invasion of Asia would attach themselves, and that it is in the aetiological legends of the origin of their diviners that the sack of Askalon figures. When Hippokrates remarks that impotence is more prevalent among the aristocracy of Skythia because they ride, is it not possible that he is thinking loosely of Skythia in terms of the Greek city state? It is the easiest thing in the world for the historian to think, if we may so express it, in the wrong dimensions. How hard it is to remember in studying Greek history the relatively small territorial area covered by the great city states! So Hippokrates, thinking roughly of Skythia as a whole, thinks of these blackmailers, 'who consider the other Skythians their slaves,' as an aristocracy, and confuses a race of horsemen with a class of horse-owners. The πένητες and κάκιστοι who do not ride will, on this hypothesis, be the ἀροτῆρες and γεωργοί⁵ over whom the nomad

¹ Herodotos, iv. 68, speaks of βασιλεὺς ὁ Σκυθέων, apparently meaning chief of the Royal Skythians.

² Hippokrates, *loc. cit.*

³ Herodotos, iv. 20.

⁴ Strabo, 311.

⁵ Herodotos, iv. 17-18.

horsemen tyrannise in the manner hinted at by Herodotos and described by Strabo. If this view is correct, the savage state of culture of this nomad race, which is indicated by their practices as narrated by Herodotos, leads us to suppose that the Ἐνάρες are closer akin to the savage parallels than to the priests of Kybele, and the fact that they belong definitely to the nomad tribes and not to the corn-growers makes it probable that no fertility motive can be safely assigned as the basis of the strange custom.

In justice to Hippokrates it should perhaps be added that among the savage examples of emasculate *shamans* masquerading as women there are many cases of naturally impotent people being devoted to this service. There is no reason to question the statement of Hippokrates that the Skythian race displayed a physical tendency towards impotence.

W. R. HALLIDAY.

THE FIRST ENGLISH TRAVELLER'S ACCOUNT OF ATHOS.

JOHN COVEL, afterwards Master of Christ's College, Cambridge,¹ visited Athos from Lemnos on his way from Constantinople to England in the spring of 1677. His letter of recommendation from Nointel (which he hoped might be of use if he fell amongst French 'privateers')² and his circular letter to the monasteries from Manolaki Petrovitzes³ are preserved in his correspondence.⁴

The Athos notes are bound partly in the Folio MS. (*Add.* 22, 912) and partly in the Quarto (*Add.* 22, 914). They are very hastily written and ill arranged. I have therefore taken considerable liberties with the text, revising punctuation, resolving contractions, and (for the convenience of the reader) often transcribing words written wholly or partly in the Greek character; such words are indicated by italics. I have further attempted

¹ See *B.S.A.* xii. 211: note below the Cambridge use of 'court,' 'chapel,' and 'hall.'

² § 1, below.

³ Manolaki of Castoria, a retired furrier of great wealth, was at this time one of the most prominent figures at the Patriarchate, and notable as an early benefactor of Greek education (Gedeon, *Χρον. τῆς Πατριαρχικῆς Ἀκαδημίας*, 124-131; cf. *Journal d'Antoine Galland*, i. 170, ii. 63). Covell mentions him by name in *Add.* 22, 912, fr. 158: in the printed *Journals*, p. 158, the name is for some (or no) reason omitted. Manolaki is here spoken of as a creditor of the hospodars and treasurer (*ἐπίτροπος τοῦ παγκαρίου*) of the Patriarchate: in this capacity he presented a chest (*παγγάρι*) inlaid with ivory to the Patriarchate in 1669 (Gedeon, *Χρον. τοῦ Πατρ. Οἴκου*, 109). An inscription on this chest mentions the name of his wife Roxandra, whose maiden-name appears not to be known. Covell speaks of Manolaki as 'brother-in-law of Drakos,' which may give a hint to those better informed than myself. A bey of Moldavia named Drakos is mentioned by Rycaut, *s.a.* 1679, p. 3.

⁴ *Brit. Mus. Add.* 22, 910, ff. 130, 143 respectively: the latter is addressed † *πανσιώτατοι καὶ αἰδεσιμώτατοι καθηγούμενοί τε καὶ προηγούμενοι πάντες τῆς ἱερᾶς συνάξεως τοῦ ἁγίου ὄρους*, dated March 28 (O.S.) and signed *Μανόλη*. Covell had further a letter from a *προηγούμενος* of Lavra whom he had met at Gallipoli on his journey (*Add.* 22, 914, f. 36).

to group together scattered notes on identical subjects, and to arrange the whole as far as possible in its natural order.¹

The notes of (A) the Quarto (ff. 36 *verso*–46 *verso*) form an integral part of the homeward voyage, and contain mostly information on the Lavra, including the author's arrival there (April 19) and departure thence (about April 25),² and remarks on the monasteries in general.

The pages of the Athos journal in (B) the Folio (ff. 348–351) are grouped with scattered notes on the same subject, including *excerpta* from the *Proskynetarion* of 1701, 'notes out of Sir George Wheeler's MS.,'³ a broadsheet reprinted from Georgirenes' account, and various rough sketches and plans of the Mountain not worth reproducing. The journal proper relates to Ivéron, Stavronikéta, Pantokrátoros, Koutloumóusi, Karyés, Vatopédi, Caracállou, and Philothéou. From the times given at the last two, Covel seems to have visited these in the order given,⁴ *i.e.* on his way from Lavra to Ivéron, which is proved by other indications⁵ to have been made by land. The order of the other monasteries seems arbitrary, but is retained in the list of monasteries: most travellers would now pass through Karyés on the way to Ivéron, and proceed from Pantokrátoros to Vatopédi. It is possible that the journals are not complete and that Covel visited other monasteries: this seems to be implied by the notes on Esphigménou and Docheiaríou,⁶ but it is hardly possible that he made the complete tour of the twenty in so short a time.

Athos, vaguely known already to Buondelmonti (1420),⁷ was discovered to westerners by Pierre Belon, who published an engraved plate and a general description⁸ with a list of the monasteries. In the seventeenth century a

¹ The headings of the sections are not in the original.

² He arrived at Lemnos April 27.

³ 'Concerning Mt. Athos, especially the monastery of the Iveron and the famous picture,' f. 345.

⁴ Caracállou and Philothéou are described on f. 351, which lacks the original consecutive pagination of the others.

⁵ Cf. § 7.

⁶ §§ 4, 14. The notes on the isthmus, § 15, are of course derived from the monks; the canal of Xerxes has been seen by many recent travellers and lately surveyed by Struck (*Maked. Fahrten.*, i. 68).

⁷ *Liber Insularum*, § 70. The earliest English mention of the monasteries is that of W. Wey (1462, *Itineraries*, p. 78). Other early notices are those of Aless. Ariosto (1475–8, *Viaggio*, p. 11) and J. Thénard (1512, *Voyage*, p. 137); but none of these visited the Mountain. The best early accounts are those of the Russian pilgrims published by Khitrovo.

⁸ *Observations*: the plate seems to have been engraved for *Portraits d'Oiseaux*, but is frequently lacking: it was adapted by Thevet for his *Cosmog. Univ.* (ii. 810).

Cypriote monk, Père Athanase, was sent by the French king to collect MSS.¹ About Covell's time short accounts of the Mountain were published in English by Georgirenes of Samos (1678), by Rycaut, who availed himself of Covell's information,² and in Greek by Komnenos in the *Proskynetarion* of 1701; the best general view of this period is the account of Braconnier,³ written in 1706, but not published till much later. For the later bibliography V. Langlois' work should be consulted: since his time the most useful books on the subject are those of Brockhaus, Lambros (MSS.), Gedeon, P. Meyer (documents), Millet (inscriptions), Smyrnakes, and (for English readers) Athelstan Riley.

§ 1.—*Of our coming to the port of Laura and civil entertainment.*

A 37^v. Thursday 19th [April 1677] at Monte Santo, 'Αγία Λαύρα.

A 45^v. The port onely for little barkes: coursaires' frigots cannot enter, yet their crue often come ashoar and pillage. Capt. Crevelle (french man)⁴ had just been there before us, had seased of a censer or two, but with intreaty restored them: took two brothers out of a small boat and conveyed them away. I had the F. Embassador's passe, yet liked better not to make use of it.

A 44^v. We were most civilly treated every where, and much the more for Manoulacky's letters.⁵ So soon as they had notice that we were arrived (for they expected us) the patriarch⁶ sent down Joseph the ecclesiarches to treat us there, at the Castle, which is a poor ruin'd tower; there are two or three Iron guns in it but now are never used. Many such towers are round about upon the shore at the entrance to the monasteries by. We had everyone his mule, furnisht out with carpets, to ride up to the monastery, which stands about a mile up the hill from the shore. The ecclesiarches accompanied us to Ibero. All monasteries trane mules or horses or both, and all strangers are furi sht with them from place to place.

¹ Omont, *Miss. Archéol.* i. 6 (cf. below, § 16). A Russian agent is mentioned *ibid.* p. 7, cf. Smyrnakes, p. 371.

² *Greek Church*, ch. xi. p. 216: the debt is everywhere apparent.

³ In Omont's *Missions Archéologiques*, ii. 994 ff., and elsewhere. Tournefort's chapter on Greek monasticism is entertaining and (for the time) impartial.

⁴ Hugues Crevellier was one of the most celebrated pirates in the Aegean at this period; he was killed the following year. The best account of him is in Sauger's *Hist. des Duces*, 310-319; see also Lucas, *Voyage*, 1704, 226; Randolph, *Archipelago*, 54; de Burgo, *Viaggio*, 342.

⁵ See above, p. 103.

⁶ The patriarch Dionysios Bardales was at this time living in retirement at the Lavra (Gedeon, *Πατριαρχικοί Πίνakes*, No. 22, also in 'Εκκλησιαστική 'Αλήθεια, ii. 608, 'Αθως, 159; cf. Millet's *Inscriptions*, Nos. 161, 166).

The *Hegoumenos* met us at door, lead us to chappel, and as we crosse they sing *Χριστὸς ἀνέστη* and pray for us: this compliment was used in most places where we came. We stay'd there one day before we went forward. The Patriarch received us with extraordinary respect, each an elbow-chair founisht with carpets. Afterwards din'd with him dayly, and the best monkish fare that could be gotten was provided, excellent fish (severall ways), oyl, salet, beanes, hortechockes, beets (*σευτλόν*), chees, onions, garlick, oliues, caveor, Pyes of herbs, *φακαῖς*,¹ *κτωπόδι*: pepper, salt, saffron in all. A 44 v. At last conserved little oranges, most exquisite, good wine (a sort of small claret), and we alwayes drank most plentifully. At nights we drank and supt with *hegoumenos*, *pro-hegoumenos*, *ecclesiarches* and what other Padres be pleased to call. He is no Greek that cannot drink 20 or 30 plump glasses at a setting. At other places our entertainment was much the same, the *hegoumenos* entertained us in our lodging, the *ἀρχονταρίο*. When we came away we presented the Patriarch with an Oake² pepper, a bread of sugar and a meeter³ of Tenedos wine. He gave me Simeon Thessal. MS. worth 20 dollars,⁴ the *hegoumenos* crosses.

§ 2.—Of the Monastery of Laura.

A 43 v. Laura was first dedicated to the Evangelismus of B.V., but she appear'd and said for the future it should be for the Honour of St. Athanasius. In his chappell there is his crosse cas'd with silver; the wood is at least 3 inches square. It is fastened to a great ring of Iron which he alwayes wore about his neck. It weighs at least 5 pound. Everyone professing himself monk takes this in his hand (as in Euchologion). Certainly to see such an old man with such a yoake about his neck in England would make those people think him onely fit for bedlam. His Iron staff with a Crosse is there, with which he stroke the rock, etc., and drove away the Devil.

All the tables at Laura are marble, of this fashion D, and are placed sideways to one another, the round side to the wall: at the flat side none sit, but is open for the *trapezaires* or some other to serve: our monks in many places set all of a side.⁵

The chappel Court (and many other places) from the hall to church is paved with stone pebbles and chequered white and black: severall cloisters.

A 44 v. Dionysius propatriarch now lives there, sometimes he goes to *Kotloumouses* where he hath built a little apartment.

A 37 v. A chappel built ('Αβέρκιος δικαῖος' time)⁶ by *Μαρτύριος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος*

¹ Lentils.

² A Turkish weight equivalent to about 2½ lbs.

³ Μέτρο, a Greek measure containing 12 okes.

⁴ *Adv. Haereses, De Divino Templo*, s. xvii. This MS. passed with the rest of Covel's collection to the Earl of Oxford, and is now in the British Museum (*Harl.* 5574).

⁵ Barsky's plan of the famous refectory at Lavra is given by Beylié, *L'Habitation Byzantine*, p. 66.

⁶ 1578, according to Smyrnakes, 386.

Σάμου, *αππο ζ, ρκα'* (1613)¹ with the story of the B.V. being *οἰκονόμος*²; ever since she appeared there to Athanasius they have onely a *παροικονόμος*. (In Laura 26 oratoryes, Refectory 24 tables on a side. The *ἁγιασμὸν* made the first day of every month; a *jet d'eau* in the *ρῥιαλέ*. Gregorius Palamas archbishop of Salonicha his cell there: he for the light *ἄκτιστος*.)³ The great church was built by Ἰωάννης ὁ ἱερός ποιμενάρχης, once *hegoumenos* here, and the fountain by, *αππο ς, φξη'* (1060) as appears by an inscription on the left hand going in.⁴ The Bason of the fountain is all of one stone with a foot like a cup, white marble, the diameter 8 ft., high 3 ft. 2 in.



FIG. 1.—LAURA: 'the fountain cover'd over with a Cupola.'

On twelf Day they make the *μεγάλο ἁγιασμὸν* in it and the first Sunday in every month the *μικρόν*.⁵ This fountain is cover'd over with a cupola (Fig. 1),

¹ Part of this inscription, on a picture of the Panagia Oeconómisa in the chapel of the Forty Martyrs, is known to Millet. No archbishop of Samos named Martyrios is known, though the series is given by Georgirenes, *Samos*, 34 ff.

² For the legend see Georgirenes, *Samos*, 88; Agapios, iii. 301, etc. At the present day Lavra elects no *οἰκονόμος*, the *δικαῖος* taking his place (Smyrnakes, 399).

³ Palamas gained notoriety in the discussion as to the nature ('created' or 'uncreated') of the Light on Tabor, the question being settled by a council in 1351.

⁴ The inscription (Millet, 333) was removed from the *narthex* or the *catholicon* in 1814 but still preserved.

⁵ See below, §§ 12, 13.

and (together with the church) hath been repair'd within this 43 yeares.¹ All the other little fountaines and chappels have been made by severall benefactors, most within this 100 yeares, some in these 40 yeares.² They suffer'd not much from the Turkes at his first coming, because most of their treasure they have now is of antient date. In the galleryes above looking in to the choir of the great church towards the altar, is a marble stone, worne (as they say) by the knees of Athanasius in his *metánoia's*,³ but to a man that considers the wearing of marble by rubbing with a rope, etc., it must seem impossible to have been done in one man's time. His sepulcher is shewn below, but not his body which Nectarius⁴ boasts of as a most holy relique.

We saw their severall offices and magazines: in their cellar are severall vast long tuns, one of 1500 meeters as they tell me, many 6 foot [across] at the head, and 15 or 16 foot long. As these are d[epleted?] they fill them again from another magazin[e they ha]ve without the Monastery. A 39 r. [They h]ave a smith to shoe horses, buffaloes, mules, etc., | and to Iron their shoes and bootes. They have a place for taylors, shoemakers, weavers of their course habits, Cappers or χαμαλφακιάριδες,⁵ another smith for forging hatchets, mattocks, etc., a place to make oil, grind their olive, etc. A 39 r. Their coal is made out of the wood and roots of trees (which make their smiths' coal) from the mount. They bake the *prosphora*⁶ every Friday, and their bread once a week likewise which is usually 40 keloēs⁷ of wheat, and be they more or lesse in convent yet never is any left or abounding at the weeke's end, which they count a peice of speciall providence of the B.V. οἰκονομία. At Christmasse, Easter, Whitsunday, Aug. 15, they bake twice in the week by reason strangers come, sometimes 400 or 500 more or lesse. (Washhouse or laundry, gardiners.)

We saw Athanasius' cell there, shut up, nothing but a mat, his body below not shewn, his crosse and iron rods.⁸

At Laura a drawbridge to their Tower.⁹ A peice of the Crosse a foot [long].¹⁰

It was first building by *Nicephoros* the Emperor at the Instance of St Athanasios but he being cut of before it was finisht it was compleated by Ioannes Tsimiskes. It seems to haue been 2 or three courts, but many chappells and holy fountaines being erected since make it a rude and confused building.

A 43 r. At Laura within the walls are 19 chappells and the church makes up 20. The cupola stands not upon pillars but is rays'd from the centers of

¹ The reference is to Millet's inscription (391) of 1635 dating the painting of the *phiale*.

² Cf. below, p. 129, on building dates at Athos.

³ *I.e.* penitential prostrations; see below, § 6.

⁴ Nectarius, Ἐπιτομή Ἱεροκοσμικῆς Ἱστορίας? but I can find no reference to S. Athanasius in it.

⁵ From χαμηλαύχιον, a monk's cap, shaped like a fez but made of coarse black felt.

⁶ Eucharistic bread.

⁷ Kilés, a Turkish grain-measure equal to a bushel.

⁸ The cell of Athanasius has now been demolished (Smyrnakes, 384).

⁹ This refers to the tower by the sea.

¹⁰ For the true cross at Athos see Riley's elaborate note, pp. 405-6.

the crosse walls. It hath 20 more little chappells without: one is below at the end of their garden where *Joan. Koukouzéles* liued, the famous inventor or refiner of the now Greek musick of whom see *Agaprios*, 'Αμαρτωλῶν Σωτηρία.¹ There is a pretty large cell without belonging to this monastery which may almost passe for a Monastery itself: it is dedicated to Sta. Anna and there are sometimes 60 or 70 *Kalogeroi* there. They are famous for crosses, spoones, etc., as much as at Kareais.²

A 39 r. The yearly expence in all is 6,000 dollars, whereof they pay to the Turkes one way or other about 2,500 dollars,³ the rest is in their maintenance. They have 10 or 12 *metóchia*⁴ abroad, as 3 in Lemnos, 2 in Imbro, 1 Cassandra, 1 Sciro, 1 *Eustratio*,⁵ 1 Proublaka in isthmus, 1 Armeli.⁶ (The Turkes regard not these in Islands but in *terra firma* they covet.) These heretofore sent them an annuall provision of all necessaries but now they tell me they rather receive of them something to maintein them.

§ 3.—Of the Offices and Rule of Laura.

A 39 v. There are these offices or distinctions amongst them:

1. 'Ηγούμενος.⁷

2. 'Εκκλησιάρχης (like our Dean of the Chappel at Whitehall) who orders all things about their ceremonyes at church, direct's the Deacons and preists in saying of the liturgy, keeping their feasts, and observing all rites and usances in the church whatsoever; as lighting, extinguishing candles, placing the *asbesto*,⁸ and in amending everything that chance to go out of order: [t]here were two here now, sometimes there are more.

3. Προηγούμενος (as if πρωτωηγούμενος) so they call all that haue been ἡγούμενοι; whereof they have many here abroad, now but one at home. In this and other great Monastery's they make one person ἡγούμενος but once because they haue many that yearly expect it, but in other little monasteries they repeat it twice or thrice, and he that hath been aboue

¹ Pt. 3, p. 298; cf. Millet (380) and Riley.

² Covell has three other notes on S. Anna:—

(1) A. 39 r. St. Anne depend on it (*sc.* Lavra).

(2) A. 41 v. There is likewise a little monastery of St. Anne under the jurisdiction of Laura and hath about 30 *Kalogeroi*; they are a colony from thence.

(3) *Ibid.* St. Anne hath 60 monks: some bind books, weaue, make crosses, ἐγκόλπια, spoons, beads.

The carving industry is an old one, and is mentioned by Thevet, *Cosm. Univ.* ii. 811; Crusius, *T.-G.* IIII. xlvii. 332. It is now carried on chiefly at the hermitages of Kapsokalývia and Katonákia, in the extreme south of the peninsula, where cultivation is almost impossible.

³ See below, § 4, for the taxation of the monasteries: the dollar mentioned is probably the Dutch lion-dollar, worth about 4s. 6d.

⁴ Farms, worked on the *métayer* system; they are said at the present day also to bring in little revenue since the confiscation of the rich Rumanian estates; the situation is aggravated by the rise in wages consequent on emigration.

⁵ Ἀἶστρατι="Ἅγιος Εὐστράτιος, an island near Lemnos.

⁶ Ὀρμυλία in the Chalcidice.

⁷ At f. 45 r occurs the note: Laura, *hegoumenos* very good man, his name Parthenius: *pro-hegoumenos Hierotheos, ecclesiarches* Joseph.

⁸ See below, § 6.

once *hegoumenos* they call *δικαῖος* (putting the accent on the penultima) [rather his deputy who may be a lay man].

4. *Σκευοφύλακα* or Treasurer, who keeps and receives and payes out all moneys, hath all their bookes, utensels, mattocks, cloths, shoes, etc., and other things not hereafter mention'd in his keeping.

5. *Δοχιάρη*¹ or store-keeper: he hath their granary, oliues, oil, wood, coal, etc. under his keeping, candles, wax: his magazine, *δοχείον*.

6. *Ἀρχοντάρη*, or maister of the wardrobe: he hath the carpets, beds, and bedding, and all things fit for the receiuing and entertaining of strangers; to whom it belongs in particular to prepare the room, *ἀρχοντάριον*,² and what else the *hegoumenos* orders, etc.

7. *Τραπεζάρη*, who hath onely the wine and bread under his custody and ordering, that is to furnish every table with both in their due proportion. Their bread lies in a great bing or place which stands open alwayes for anyone to go at all times freely to it, but the wine is under lock and key, and to every *Kalogero* at dinner and supper is given his set *dimensum* which here is $\frac{1}{2}$ an oak.

A 40 r.

8. *Μάγειρος*, or cheif cook, who hath severall to help him, and in their great *αγρυπνιά's*³ (before Easter and the like) he is excused half of their houres in consideration of his labour he is to go through the day following.

9. *Μανγέπος*,⁴ or cheif bakers, here two: They haue 12 under them to knead their dough. They haue 2 very large ovens for the common bread, 1 for the *προσφορά*, which is always baked on *Παρασκευή* or Friday (Saturday the others).

They haue all other orders and ecclesiasticall offices and distinct offices as in the *μεγάλη ἐκκλησία*, and besides they haue:

1. *Βηματάρη*, chappel-keeper, whose office is to see the churches and chappells kept clean especially the *ἅγιον βῆμα*, from whence the office is named: he keeps the things belonging to the altar. The altar here is very richly set out; the crosse (for it is a *stauropegion*) is all furnished with pretious stones. All the old Evangeliums set out with gold, siluer, and pretious stone cover'd with rich velvet. There are at least 12 large rich Thuribula. One thing I took particular notice of, in the throne is painted the B.V., and the monastery being hers, the *hegoumenos* never set down there but leaue it for her.

2. *Διαβαστήρη*, or reader, which is different from the *ἀναγνώστης*: he stands in his stall in the right-hand quire and in many places of the liturgy and esperinon make the Responses alone. He finds all the proper hymnes and lessons, and mark them out with a thread, etc.

3. *Ὁρόλογοι*, whereof they haue several, to mind the clock (they haue

¹ More correctly *Δοχειάριος*, contracted *Δοχειάρης*, and so with the titles following.

² Now called *ἀρχονταρίκιον*.

³ Services lasting all night.

⁴ The word is still in use on Athos: see Ducange, *s.v.* *μαγκιπεῖον*, and cf. *μαγκύπιον* in Millet's inscr. 405.

a large one like our church clocks with a great bell, with latten characters, about 200 years old) and beat the *sémanthro* whereof they haue many, one for to rayse them in the morning and for the lityrgy, another for to eat, and to go out to work, to bake, to meet at funeralls, etc. These are commonly Deacons whereof there were now at home 5.

10. I forgot amongst the domestick offices the *παροικονόμος* (so cal'd here as about said¹) who comandes all out of the monastery as the *(verso)* *hegoumenos* within; and often upon occasion beats the slothfull or negligent.

11. *Χαρτηλάριος*, which in the G. church hath been a noble office, now here he minds onely the Mules and horses, to see them shod, etc., and orders them out for wood, and the like.

Also the *μεσοκόμων, πορτάρης*.

They haue now about 450 *kalogeroi* belonging to their Monastery, whereof 150 (at least) are abroad to beg almes, whereof they haue some all over the Greek church and as they come home others goe out as missionaries, this being the first point of *kalogerism* to vow obedience to the *hegoumenos* and fraternity. Many goe as far as Russia, Muscovy (I met two here that haue been at Archangelo), Morea, Palestine, Stambol, Smyrna, etc., and they now tell me or pretend that most of their *entrata* comes in this way. Not any (but your labouring handicraftsmen) deacons or preists stay here 3 yeares entire, but is sent out to one place or other, and those of yeares and standing, if they bring home good store of money, are undoubtedly made *hegoumenoi* the year following.

The *hegoumenos* comonly stayes in but one year, expecting one of these more aged missionaries' return with *tento folle*, but if they stay longer, or when they return bring little or nothing, and giue a sorry account of their time, they are turn'd by with disgrace and the old one continued perhaps 2 or 3 yeares longer. When the new is made, all the *kalogeri* at home meet and without any contradiction the Missionary return'd with honour is named *hegoumeno* and all the keys given up to him.²

Every night at sun set the keys of the door's are carryed up: no entrance in, nor going out.

A 41 r. *Σολέα* is certainly the round stone or rose of stones in the quire before the *ώραίαι πύλαι*, and this Patriarch tells me as much, though others say it is as much as *ἀριστερά* meaning the side under the picture of J. Christ where the person to be made a Diacon is set: see *Euchologion, de Diaconis*.

I lighted of a book concerning a difference betwixt the Greek and Latin Churches about the light which fell from heaven at our Saviour's transfiguration; they saying it was *φῶς ἄκτιστον*, these *κτιστόν*: Gregoras was the Latin, Gregorius Thessalonicae *Palamàs* the Greek. The preists and deacons do no work but what is in the church or immediately belonging to it (Bellonius contrary): the deacons bake the prosphora and may some-

¹ § 2.

² For contemporary confirmation cf. Braconnier, 1021, and (much later) Leake, *N. Greece*, iii. 133.

times be sent of an errand, but nothing else. The preists do nothing at all. All laborious work whatever out of the church is done by *kalogeri* or hired labourers (contrary to Bel. l. i. c. 40, denied at Laura, etc.): if one Monastery lend a servant to another, as a cooper, smith, etc. they are paid for it, unlesse the busnesse is a trifle.

§ 4.—*Of the Government of Monte Santo.*

A 44 r. Their bounds are all set out of old and confirmed by the T(urkes). Laura hath the largest, vineyards, arable, oliveyards, etc. We travayled at least 12 mile in it from thence to Ibero, as much the other way. The tower and vineyard beyond *Philothéou* theirs (se *Crusius Turcograe*.¹ etc.).

Severall *Calogeri* at every cell, all were home on Sunday and dine in their habits.

A 45 r. They pay the Bostanjé basha's aga yearly 10 purses (5000 dollars), to the G. Sr. uncertainly (1000 dollars, i:e: 1000 *per mensem* 12,000 *per annum*²), no haratch but other wayes treble, &c. The last yere of the warre with Candia he levyed upon them 30 purses. To the Aga Easter lambs. | They pay by a certain proportion of which elsewhere, three or 4 monasteries are poor *kesim*³ and pay onely 100 dollars apiece *per ann.*, the others pay all the rest proportionably. From the Bostanjé and G. Sr. together is levyed monthly 1000 dollars and they giue, every one of the monasteries not *kesim*, a sheep or kid or goat every month to the Bostanjé Aga for his housekeeping. For this every monastery keep a little flock of weathers; when it growes low they are supplyed at the market every Saturday at Kareais, as likewise the severall calogeri bring thither all sorts of ropes, caps, vestes etc., spoones etc., which they work themselves, and there sell them for the benefit of them that want.

How many payments particularly they make I could not learn: the *nomokanon* shewes what they ought to doe.

[In?] every monastery a *μεσοκόμουν*, and every one make a *panegyris* 3 a year—12 day, Paska, and their peculiar Saint, all countreys from the firme land come in and many others: and if the particular Saint day is not common to two (as in some it is) they all resort to the place where he is celebrated.

A 41 r. The Patriarch hath nothing to doe with them: he makes an *ἀρχιερεὺς* who sometimes liues at *Karéais*; his title *Ἡρέσου καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Ὁρους*. He gouernes the monasteries without *stavropégion*: the rest may make use of whome they please. He hath a checkeen⁴ for saying his masse when he ordaines any and some present from the ordained or their freinds. Dedicated when little [*Agathonice*⁵ feast of Athanasius].

¹ Pp. 232, 343.

² Gerlach (*Tagebuch*, 460) assesses the taxation of the monasteries in a very depressed period (1578) at 18,000 dollars.

³ These were, according to Rycaut, Philotheou, Russiko, and Castamonitou.

⁴ I.e. Zecchino, sequin, a Venetian gold coin worth about 8s.

⁵ Probably the author of the statement, possibly the *Agathone* mentioned in the account of Lemnos (printed ed. p. 284).

They goe up Athos 2^{os} a year, if the time serve, 5 Jul., 6 Aug.¹

These have *stavropegion*, either by being founded by emperors and Patriarches as *Vatopedi*, etc., or purchase since as Iberus, etc.: *Laura*, *Vatopedi*, *Ibéro*, *Dokiariou*, *Philothéou*, *Stavronikéta*, *Pantocrátora*, *Siméno*.²

[Two pictures that spake at Karais. From St. Anne down to Laura many cells belonging to Laura—Panteleëmon, *Kerasta*, Demetrios (a vineyard there), Antonius, Athanasius—A clock at Batopedi: peice of the crosse at *Chilandar*, at Pantocrator, Cutlouses.]

In these any *Archiereüs* whom they please to call, ordaine, say Masse, etc.: in the others they can call none but the *Archiereüs* of the place or one with his consent (Bel. i. 41). These all put the Patriarch in their dyptych's (*μνημονεύοντε*), the rest the bishop of the place who is under Thessalonica; and hath another seat at *Siderókapsi* besides his house at *Karéais*.

None must take tobacco in any Monastery under pain of an *ἀφορισμός*,³ strangers excepted: at Iberus no raiké drunk within, but at the door good store.

§ 5.—Of the Number and Names of the Monasteries.⁴

(verso) These monasterys are now, by Bellonius mistaken:

COVEL.	BELL.	COVEL.	BELL.
1. Laura.	1. Laura.	11. <i>Zograph.</i>	11. Gregorio.
2. Caracal.	2. Sguraph.	12. <i>Kastomoné.</i>	12. Rusco.
3. Philotheu.	3. Chelandári.	13. <i>Dokiariu.</i>	13. Xenopho.
4. Iberus.	4. Simeon.	14. <i>Xenoph.</i>	14. <i>Archangelo.</i>
5. <i>Stavroniketa.</i>	5. Vatopedi.	15. <i>Roísko.</i>	15. Diocherio.
6. <i>Pantocratora.</i>	6. Pandocratora.	16. Xeropotáme.	16. Castamoneti.
7. <i>Kotoulmouses.</i>	7. Ivero.	17. Gregoriou.	17. Simónpetra.
8. <i>Batopedi.</i>	8. Philotheo.	18. Simópetra.	18. Ichares Protato.
9. <i>Simeno.</i>	9. Caracal.	19. Dionysiou.	19. Kothyomus.
10. <i>Chiliadar.</i>	10. Agio Paulo.	20. Agiou Pavlou.	20. Philotheo.
	10. Dionysio.		

(Bell. hath left out *Stavroniketa*. He hath made Archangelo and Diocherio two when they and the name is all one, *δοκιρίον* is *arcitenentis*⁵: its dedicated to Michael the Arch. and a long story about it.⁶ He hath put Philotheo twice, there is but one. Xeropotame he hath left out likewise. He hath put in Ichares Protato, which is not a

¹ S. Athanasius of Athos and Transfiguration respectively.

² Langlois (pp. 61, 66, 67) gives a list of documents shewing that the following also had *stavroπηγίον*: Simopetra (1591), Pantokratoros, Koutlounousi, and Dionysiou (fourteenth century). Xeropotamou received the privilege in 1682.

³ I.e. Excommunication. This rule is now modified, but smoking in the courts is not allowed, a regulation which would have struck Covell as familiar.

⁴ With this list compare that of Zosimus (c. 1420) in *Itinéraires Russes*, 208, and of Isaias (1489, *ibid.* 260 ff.), the latter particularly interesting as shewing the prominence of the Slavs at this date.

⁵ C. derives from *τοξάρι*; the word is really *δοχειαρίον* (storekeeper), as above, § 3.

⁶ The 'long story' occurs first, as far as I know, in the Russian account of Isaias (*Itin. Russes*, 260-1), and is pleasantly told by Rycaut.

monastery but onely a great church built in common to all the Monasterys : and there they meet in common council upon urgent occasions : they call it *ai Kapæais* and *Κηραῖς*, and the vulgar pronunciation made him mistake. Πρωτάτο it is call'd from the *συναξίς γερόντων* there held, as if it were our Primatus)

§ 6.—*Of divers customs of the Kalogeri.*

A 43 r. It is a grosse mistake that *καλόγραιαι* are here, there is no female thing suffer'd to come in, but birds and wild beasts which will come in on their own accord : but asses, mules, sheep, goates, horses, buffalos, etc., all males.

"*Αγιον* "Ορος seen from Stambol, contrary to Bel. p. 82.¹ They commonly count 6000 *kalogeri* in all upon the place. There may be 2000 abroad a-begging.

A *kalogeros* makes every night before he goes to bed, 300 *μετάνοιαι*,² *μικρόσχημος* 600, *μεγαλόσχημος* 1200 : *μεγαλόσχημος* thrice a week onely eat fish and oyl, Thursday, Saturday, Sunday ; at Lent onely Saturday and Sunday, other dayes but once a day, about 2 houres after noon.

M. Santo is reckon'd (and I beleive justly) 160 miles in compasse.

Nothing is doon without the *hegoumenos*' privacy and leaue, not a man stirre out nor in.

At all places we stay'd a little at the door, then kindly received, the Church open'd, the Deacon and preist say a *συνάπτη*³ and pray (amongst the rest) for the *ἄρχοντες* then arrived, then salute you. Between Pascha and Pentecost they alwayes sing *Χριστὸς ἀνέστη*, etc.

Asbestos stands all the year in the choires of most monasterys to spit on in 3 Iron frames to each choir. The patriarch and *Archiereus* if present, the *hegoumenos*, haue their stalls in the S. Choir. The throne under the pillar to the W. of that choir and the stone chair at Nice⁴ nothing else though they say it was Constantine's.

Every *hegoumenos* must be a preist at least, but he may depute a *kalogeros* as his deputy, who in his absence gouernes all and cal'd *δικαῖος*. If the *hegoumenos* leaues the pro-hegoumenos his deputy still he is cal'd by that name, which is pronounced by that accent.

The *prosphora* is baked by the deacons, the other bread by 12 *kalogeroi* aforesaid.

(verso) An ordinary *kalogero*, which they call also *ἀρχάριος* or *novitijs*, hath all his clothes pull'd off (here at St. Athanasius chappell door) and in his naked shirt is demanded as in the Euchologion.⁵ Then he hath the *raso* which is a course delaman of goates' hair made in the place, and shoes and *καλυμάχιον* and *ποκαλύμανχον*. The *μικρόσχημος* hath added a *μανδύας*⁶

¹ At f. 45 r. occurs the note : " Bellonius saith Athos is not seen aboue 30 mile, yet we can in a clear day see it from Sultan Solymán at Stanbol." Braconnier (996) says the Selimye could be seen from Athos, which Leake (128) calls 'a vulgar error.'

² I.e. prostrations, see Rycaut, *Greek Church*, 258.

³ *Συνάπτειν* = to say the offices of various hours together (Lee, *Glossary*, s.v.).

⁴ Nicaea ; cf. Wulff, *Koimesiskirche*, p. 3, etc.

⁵ Viz. *Ἀκολουθία πρὸς ἀρχάριον ῥασοφοροῦντα*. The rubric is : ἀποτίθεται τῇ συνήθῃ ἱμάτια . . . καὶ ἵσταται ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν πυλῶν ἄζωστος, ἀνυπόδετος καὶ ἀσκεπής.

⁶ The service is called *Ἀκολουθία τοῦ μικροῦ σχήματος ἥτοι τοῦ μανδύου*.

or loose cloak tyed on σταυροειδῶς, a πολυσταῦρι, &c. : μεγάλοςχημος hath a κουκούλι, παραμάντι, ἀπανοφώριον etc.

A 46 r. In Lent they can eat στακοί,¹ κτοπόδια,² σήπια³ etc. (Bel. c. 48). They have as good bread as can be of wheat as it comes from mill; neither is it all biscot, but baked once a week, and sometimes the προσφορά oftner if many strangers be there. I never met with any olives cal'd amongst them δερματιαῖς: they have little black olives cal'd ἀγρέλαις because they grow wild. They have great olives, black likewise, but it is from their bruises or being gather'd too ripe for pickle.

§ 7.—Of the Road from Laura.

A 46 r. There are so many little rills everywhere run trickling down the stony rocks as one would think all the hill to be nothing but water within; hence they haue many little Turkish mills, some large built especially those near their Monasteries, for their conveniencē and dayly use. In some places next the sea these rivolets make a large river and not passable without bridges, as in two or three places from Laura to Ibero.

About two houres from Laura towards Ibero there is a great stream gushing out an Alabaster rock. Athanasius saw the V. M. there, did not beleieve it was she, till he striking the rock and this water gushing confirm'd his faith that it was her indeed.⁴ There is a little grotto aboue and below a keosk where we were entertain'd by the ecclesiarches who accompanied us, and a great wax candle was set up before the V. M. picture which allwayes stand there.

There are many castles or towers standing at distance from the Monasteries, near the sea. They are uselesse for defence since Guns have been invented⁵; but formerly they might haue signified something, at least a refuge to the Moncks if invasions suddain should be made. We saw several houses couer'd with wood, which was hollowed in like tiles but lay'd the length of the tree.

I look't narrowly for Bel. Bupraestis,⁶ but perhaps it was not the time for I found it not (Apr. '77). The place, to one that loves solitude and plants, may well be cal'd what they now name [it?] ἐπίγειος παράδεισος, yet unequal, passing steep ascents and descents, craggy stony way.

§ 8.—Of the Monasteries of Caracal and Philotheou. (Fig. 2).

B. f. 351 r. To Caracal by 10½, a tower over the door. They had rich epitrachelia⁷ and one epitaphion⁸ and other robes very rich and many. Dedicated to St. P[eter] and Paul: their pictures over the Patriarch's seat. Caracalla

¹ Ἀστακοί (lobsters).

² Ὀκτωπόδια (octopuses).

³ Cuttle-fish.

⁴ See Ἀμαρτωλῶν Σωτηρία, p. 380, for this miracle.

⁵ See below, p. 129.

⁶ Observations, I. xlv.

⁷ Stoles.

⁸ A representation of the Entombment in embroidery, exposed at Easter: a fine example is figured by Millet, Pl. XI.

the old name, hethenish from the Emperor¹: made a monastery, destroyed, repaired about 170 yeares since by two *Pachomioi*,² voivodes of Bugdania.



FIG. 2.—CARACAL: 'a tower over the door.'

The church in the middle of the Court, the court but one.³ 50 *kalogeroi*, 5 or 6 *metochia*, 500 dollars to Turkes, 200 other expences, 2 chappells, the

¹ The real origin of the name of the monastery is, I believe, unknown, but cf. Gedeon, 186: it is possibly connected with the Rumanian town of the same name, but the emperor Caracalla figures among the *κτίρες* in the paintings of a chapel of the monastery (Millet, 328).

² The Pachomii (in religion) were Peter Rarés, voivode of Bugdania (Moldavia) 1527-8 and 1541-6 and his *spatharios*, of whom is related (Braconnier, 1013; cf. Millet, 311) a story similar to that of Murtzas at Koutloumoussi, but ending in the adoption of the monastic life by both hero and villain.

³ A single court is the rule at Athos, the only exceptions being Gregoriou, where the second court is modern, and Vatopedi, where a subsidiary hospital court has been added, also in recent times. The ordinary course of reconstruction is to include the original court in the larger scheme (cf. especially Chilandari, Xenophontos), but at Lavra the crowded buildings give somewhat the effect of separate courts.

hall tables of wood, most of the *pneumatikoi*¹ abroad. The Tower's skirts round. A mile from the sea: by the sea another tower ruin'd and empty. Slate (and rocks) marchesite. 30 κελλία without about.

Philothéou at $\text{I} \frac{3}{4}$, I court, the church in the midst. A bell M · ANTONIVS · MĀ · + · M · CCCC · XVI.² There is just by to the NE. a noble spring in the end of a vault: they call it *μάνα νερό*, or the mother of the waters. There is a tower at the sea. The *Εὐangelismós*.³ They said *Iberos* made the monastery. The church vaulted, cross over. Decayed, 30 *kalogeroi* formerly 500. 4 Chappells (no *hegoumeno* now, onely *scevoyhylaca*). Hals [have] at the upper end a neach or half cupola, the saint above. On one side Christ, on the other B.V. in two other neeches or sometimes the wall or square mouldings. Before the *hegoumenos* &c. set down to dinner and after dinner *προσκυνούν*. A little tower, where in all monasterys laid the treasury and *stolismata*⁴ (under the *Bematári*): 2 *metochia*, formerly many: Pretty large hall, where we made out the founder for them by an inscription on the wall (yet it may be these onely repair'd it, perhaps onely painted the hall) by him they call their founder *ζ.μη' Λέων* and *Ἀλέξανδρος* (his son) *βασιλεὺς Καχελίου Ἰβηρίας*:⁵ it seemes these onely repair'd it (it being by the inscription but 137 years since) after ruined by (the Pope as they say) Michael Palaeologus. They say the father afterwards turn'd Turk.⁶

§ 9.—Of the Monastery of *Iberus*.

B. 348 r. (1)

Iberus. Multitudes of Theologicall bookes everywhere; but in every place the *scevoyhylaca* abroad: [could] not see their bookes in their towers. Was told here all bookes burnt of humane learning; those concern'd not them—perhaps all a pretence, fear'd me. There is one booke about the procession of the H.G., Greek & Latin, the beginning wanting, the end:—*τέλος σὺν θεῷ τῆς βίβλου τῆς ἀναμετάξυ γραικῶν καὶ λατίνων διαλέξεως*: wrote by a Greek to one *Andréas* whome he stiles *σοφώτατε*: it is octavo: they askt me 100 dollars for it. *Ὁ εὐγενέστατος ἡγέμων Ἰβήρων κύρ Ἀσιοτάνος καὶ κτήτωρ* painted the hall, 3 y(eares) since⁷; it is 36+ paces long, 8 wide. Their true founder *Tournikios*⁸ *Iberos* general to Theodora wife of Theofilus: they said the w[ife] of Romanus and her name *Theophano*. Theodora had such a generall, etc. It was ruin'd as they say by Turkes

¹ *Πνευματικοί* are monks in orders (*ιερομόναχοι*), especially confessors. There are usually only sufficient of them to officiate at church services.

² This inscription (in gothic capitals) is unknown to Millet, but the use of bells is shewn by the date (1427) of the belfry at Vatopedi to be ancient at Athos. Other old bells are cited by Brockhaus, p. 256. Bells are only rung at great festivals and seasons of rejoicing, the *Semantron* being ordinarily used.

³ The dedication of the *catholicon*.

⁴ See below, p. 129.

⁵ The inscription is Millet's 304 (1540), cf. 305 (1542).

⁶ Cf. Breuning, *Orient. Reyss.* (1579), p. 75, and Tournefort's account of Georgia (Letter vi.).

⁷ The *Διήγησις* (in Gedeon, p. 177) says the vaulting was repaired 1672 at the charges of *Ἀσώτης* of Iberia; he also restored the paintings of the Portaitissa chapel in 1683 (Millet 264). The paintings of the refectory were restored again in 1848 (Millet, 275, 277).

⁸ Gedeon, *Ἀθως*, 165; cf. Millet, 254, etc.

and Franks, Mich[ael] Palaeolog[us] and Beccus, and 80 yeares since repair'd by charity.¹ There is *hegoumenos*, *prohegoumenos*, *protopsaltes hierodiakonos*, *gerontes* (*emeriti milites*, old emissaries that have now their quietus). There is a large tower by the water side new built 50 yeares since by *Gregorios Oungrovlachiae voivoda*,² many little chappells (Fig. 3). Constant[ine] built a chappell over one old Heathen altar³ (to the *Prodromo*) and left the altar (now lost) in a vault under the chapp[ell], which they



FIG. 3.—IBERUS: 'a large tower by the water-side.'

show us with IC NIKA upon it (it might be one of the townes in Pliny vi. ch. 46) I thought if it was there now they might have Sct. $\mu\chi\mu$.⁴

¹ The $\Delta\iota\gamma\gamma\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$, 173, states that Iveron was sacked by pirates in 6707=1199: for Michael Palaeologus and Beccus see Gedeon, 137 ff. In 1602 Iveron was assisted by the Prince of Iberia to the extent of 12,000 florins ($\Delta\iota\gamma\gamma\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$, Gedeon, 175).

² Cf. Millet, 289, 290; Gedeon ($\Delta\iota\gamma\gamma\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$, 177). Gregorios is however the name of the *hegoumenos*, not of the voivode, as Covell. The date of this tower (Fig. 3) is 1625: the expenses were borne by Galaktion, bishop of Elasson and the voivode of Wallachia.

³ According to Smyrnakes (460) the chapel replaces a temple of Poseidon, but archaeology is a weak point on Athos.

⁴ So text: *Mahomet* seems to be meant, but the point is obscure.

They have a place for sick people summer and winter with little cells and cribs round: the winter a *stufio*¹ with earthen pots; I saw once such in Brussia. At the door out a fountain built by *Σερματὰν Ἰβήρος ζ,ρκξ'*: he gave a rich evangelium *ῤ,ωλα*.²

It stands on the sea, a mighty pleasant port and very noble prospect: by is their burying-place and large charnell.

The *Bematári* shew me the stolismata. A rich evangel 1624 by the *Βεστιάριος* of prince [of] Wallach[ia], wrote with his own hand: Anna Palaeologina Psalt[erium] 6854 *anno*,³ all set with excellent stones. 3 *epitaphia*, one all set with pearl, etc., they value at 10,000 dollars. There were infinite of preists' robes of inexpressible vallue, and at least 40 Crosses all studyed and set out with diamonds, pearles, etc., some of very great bignesse and value. 3 times a year *στολίζουν*, all is brought forth, 12 day, Easter, [and] 15 Aug. their peculiar feast, the *κοίμησις*,⁴ being their foundation. 20 or 30 dishes of gold [and] silver gilt for the *ἀντίδωρον*, God knowes how many Thuribula and boxes for the incense.

In one court the Hall, then a fount with 10 pillars and cupola. In the solea a brasse ring (just under the great cupola) with:—*ἐγὼ ἐσπερέωσα τοὺς στύλους αὐτῆς καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα οὐ σαλευθήσεται· γεώργιος μοναχὸς Ἰβήρων κτήτωρ*⁵—a title every benefactor affected. The church title *Κοίμησις Παναγίας*—the pillars Corinthian (but bungled) <pillars>. It is near as bigge as *Vatopedi*: by the pillar *a*⁶ was set the miraculous picture of B.V. (of which see *Agapios*),⁷ reckon'd amongst the *stolismata* and brought forth only 3 a year: there lay a carpet before it and a book (her *παράκλησις*)⁸ before it hang'd a lamp of beaten gold and stones by *Basilios* voivod [of] Bugdania.⁹ It is lately made a *stavropegion*.¹⁰ There are in the Bema reliques for every month and a calendar which to take out. They lamented the *scevoephylaca* was not at home to take out to let us worship them: I was more greived [for] missing the MS. There was an *epitaphion*, tent-work¹¹ with garnished pearl: in [the] *scevoephylacion* (S. side the *bema*) they took the lessons. Now they durst not leaue their treasure there: in former times so, and thence its name. The church cased with marble below, the chorus aboue with nice tile. The *solea* thus: [*diagram*] [on] the severall rounds stood severall deacons, and *preti* in the megále

¹ *Ital.* stufa, a hot-house: here apparently some kind of hypocaust is meant.

² The inscription of the fountain (A.M. 7127=1619) is given by Millet (282). The other date (7831=2223) is of course miscopied.

³ Lambros, *Catal. Athos MSS.* *5,504 (1384).

⁴ Assumption.

⁵ Millet, 231: the inscription refers to George Mtatsmindel, *hegoumenos* of Iveron 1052-6, but is probably not contemporary.

⁶ The north-eastern of the four columns supporting the dome.

⁷ Agapios Landos, a monk of Crete, was the author of the famous *Ἀμαρτωλῶν Σωτηρία*, which contains accounts of many miracles of the Virgin, that of Portaitissa iii. 305.

⁸ *I.e.* the *κανὼν παρακλητικὸς εἰς τὴν ὑπεραγίαν Θεοτόκον ποίημα ἐνθύμιον μοναχοῦ Συγκέλλου* (in the *Εὐχολόγιον*).

⁹ Probably John Basilicos (1563-4), possibly Basil the Albanian (1634-54): the lamp seems to be no longer known.

¹⁰ See below, § 13.

¹¹ *I.e.* embroidered in tent stitch.

and mikrà *eisodoi*. In many places inscriptions in the Iberian tounge and I saw at least 60 very old MS. in velum in the same tounge. I turn'd over about 1000 MS. left out by the *scevo-phylaca*, all divine fathers, etc. Besides ordinary offices here is [a] προσμανάριος, a μεγαλόσχημος¹ who continually prays to the picture aforsaid, eat but little, bread and water, etc. There is a πορτάρης² and a μεσοκόμων³ for to tend the γέροντες. They bake (verso=2) 100 Oaks of flour a week comonly. | They expend yearly 15,000 dollars, 200 *zevgarias*,⁴ 10 *metochia*, 800 *kalogeroi*, 300 abroad: 2 aquaeducts without.

§ 10.—Of the Monasterys of Stavroniketa and Pantocratora.

Going from thence a little further two towers to the sea; one belong to Kotoulmouses. Stavroniketa, by the sea: Ἱερεμίας καλὸς Πατριάρχης



FIG. 4.—PANTOCRATORA: 'stands on the sea pretty well.'

Κωνσταντινοπόλεως [sc. founded it] 200 yeares since.⁵ 150 *kalogeroi*, 4 *metochia*, 1,500 dollars expence. *Makarios hegoumenos*, *Daniel pro-hegoumenos*, good men. The church ordinary, to St. Nicolaus. They sing an anthem which was Χριστὸς ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν and pray'd for us, etc., in every place.

¹ The upper grade of monk; see Riley, *Athos*. ² Porter, doorkeeper.

³ For νοσοκόμος, as μεσοκομίον for νοσοκομείον in Covel.

⁴ A land measure still used, equivalent to two *stremmata*, i.e. about half an acre.

⁵ The date of the foundation is c. 1542.

Pantocratora built by Theodosius : [dedication] the *Metamorphosis* of Christ. Alexius Comnenus afterwards repair'd and enlarged it and lyes buried here, his brother (as they say) Ἰωαννίκιος μέγας πριμηκήριος (as he wrote on the wall over the tomb) was great benefactor likewise¹ and afterwards turned *kalogeros*. Βάρμπουλα and Γαβριήλ, two Voivodes of Valachia² built the Tower and parts adjoining to the N. Παΐσιος and Anthimos, two Patriarchs of C[onstantinople],³ enlarg'd and built the ἄγιον βῆμα.

It stands on the sea pretty well, but inaccessible almost by land (Fig. 4). Divinity bookes onely : λείψανα under the C[ommunion] Table: the T[able] stands commonly on 4 pillars; I have seen some renew'd with paper, etc., bound about the head of the pillars. 150 *kalogeroi*, 5 *metochia*, 1000 dollars Turks, 2000 other expences. On Sundayes they read at dinner the κυριακοδόξιο.⁴ One old court, an aquaeduct without.

§ 11.—Of the Monastery of Cotulmuses.

Cotulmuses (Κοντυλμούσης)—[dedication] *Metamorphosis* [founder], Andronicus *Palaeologus* : benefactors, Ioannes Νεάγκος, αὐθέντης Οὐγγροβλαχίας ζ,ε,⁵ Ioannes Πάντουλος eiusdem voivoda. These two employ'd one Μύρτζας to repair it, who when it was done (all their pictures are there) return'd home; they, finding that he had not laid out all their money but put much in his pocket, cut him off.⁶ The Turkes let them renew it but eat 2,000 dollars for licence. 2,000 strangers last Easter there. This monastery stands from the sea 4 mile, 300 *kalogeroi*, 8 *metochia*, 6,000 expense in all, the Turk near half: 7 little chappells besides the great church which with several offices croud the court. There are one or two aquaeducts to it. The towers by the monastery Ibero are theirs.

§ 12.—Of the Church of Káraes.

Káraes,⁷ an antient Church which they call πορτάτο⁸ (the mistake for πρωτάτη) built by Constantine the great, [dedication] Κοίμησις Παναγίας.

¹ Millet, 160.

² This detail, given also by the Proskynetarion, is derived from two inscriptions (Millet, 161, 188): the benefactors were *logothetae*, not *voivodes*, and the date about 1536.

³ The Patriarch Paisios I. sat for nine months of 1651 and eleven in 1658, Anthimus II. for a short time in 1623. The latter retired to the Lavra, where he died in 1628: his epitaph is given by Millet (394). He built a tower there, and seems to have done something to improve the monastery, which was much decayed at his arrival (Gedeon, 159; cf. Crusius, *T-G.* 332, 343).

⁴ A selection of homilies for every Sunday in the year arranged by Agapios.

⁵ A.M. 7005=1497: the real date is, however, 1520 (Millet, 494). Neagoe Bassarabas, voivode of Moldavia 1512-21, was a great benefactor to Athos, and built the church of Curtea d'Argesh in Rumania. He was preceded and succeeded by Radul V. and Radul VI. respectively.

⁶ Cf. the story of the Pachomii at Caracallou: the same Myrtzas is mentioned by Covet at Vatopedi.

⁷ The true spelling is undoubtedly Καρυές ('hazels'), though monkish philology connects the word with κάρα ('skull'), and Καραΐς is found early.

⁸ The name πρωτάτον is used in early documents (Langlois, 54 [1030], 65 [1319]) for the 'parliament' of Athos originally presided over by the πρῶτος: it has now been transferred to the building in which it assembled, exactly like the modern κοινότης.

All the Monasteryes haue their houses (conacks) about it, good or bad according to the grandure of them to whom they belong. Round the ring from the cupola hangs all the Images of the saints, which are taken down on their respective dayes and lay'd by to be kis't upon a desk to the right hand. All the pictures of the respectiue Saints to every monastery hang round the sides of the church in order and when they keep their respectiue feasts at home, the same holy day is respectiue kept here.

All seem to liue in great freindship, and their common health is ὁ Θεὸς καὶ ἡ Παναγία (sometimes the particular Saint of the place where they are)

νὰ μᾶς φυλάγη καὶ νὰ στερεώσῃ {τὰ μοναστήρια} καὶ τὴν ἀδελφότητά μας. }¹ The pictures for the great monasteryes hang on the

B 349 r. (3) μεσοτείχιον of the *bema* in this order:—*Laura*, *Iberus* to the left | or N. side *Vatopédi*, *Chiladár*, to the right or S. side. All the expence of oil, candles, vests, church repair, etc. is paid in joynt after their general vote by all. In the prothesis stand a little stone cistern with the *ἀγιασμὸς* in it, which is made (12 day and other times) without the *narthex* in a brasse tin'd bason, and then brought and put in here. The brasse bason stand by on a long foot. I was wondring what they did with all their holy water, but they bless every room in the monastery and every person every feast day and the first Sonday [in] the month.

The roof is sharp, with spars and slated, repair'd ζκ'(ινδ)ιέ,² I suppose at the publick charge. There is onely the church in this court, and nothing else to cumber it. Here is a mercate every Saturday, from all the monasteryes and firme land adjoyning; no Turk suffer'd to come in without leave of the Aga, and that rarely and on good ground. There is a *scenophylaca* here (all monasteryes have in order to say weekly masse in every monastery) *kellarios*, *ephemerios*, 2 *ecclesiarchae* 2 etc. in order yearly from every monastery and the *ecclesiarches* paid and *ephemerios* 1000 aspers a year the other two not. They come from the several cells that every monastery haue about, some 30, 20, etc.

Here is a house by the church of generall councill which they call *σύναξις τῶν γερόντων*. There are upon the place onely one from *Laura*, *Iberus*, *Vatopédi*, *Chiladár*, *Dionysiou*, *Kotlvmousses*. These 6 conclude all ordinary businesse: if anything difficult happen all are summoned to the respectiue (12) conacks, and thence to council; otherwise the rest are not here.³ There is a house of the archbishop who rules where there is no stavropegion, his title Ἡρέσου (without the streights) καὶ ἀγίου ὄρους Χριστοφόρος.⁴ The *patriarch* puts him in. The Aga live there with 3 or 4 servants, can't bring in a woman, nor build Jamy⁵ nor place of prayer: every year chang'd by the Bostanje⁶ in March.

¹ The modern salutation on Athos is 'Εὐλογεῖτε,' to which the reply is 'Καὶ ὁ Κύριος' or 'νὰ συγχωρήσῃ ὁ Θεός.' ² From Millet's inscription (2), 1512.

³ This is a slight modification of the arrangement represented by Meyer (p. 80), and shews that the reform of 1780-5 was a return to the ancient practice.

⁴ The bishopric of Eresos rules no longer, all the monasteries being now *stavropegia*.

⁵ Mosque.

⁶ The chief gardener of the Sultan, who then ruled Athos through his subordinate the Aga.

§ 13.—*Of the Monastery of Vatopedio and of Chiliadar.*

Vatopedio. Upon the brow of the hill going down to it stands an old fountain which hath been built as followeth: τοῦ εὐγενεστάτου Ἰω | Στεφάνου βοεβόδα καὶ αὐτοκράτορος Μολδο | βλαγοεσπηβεμιδ | Ἰωστεφανδ | βοέβοδασαμοδβρ* αβδ | Μβλδοβσκηε.¹

Without the gate to the west was a great cistern, where they could keep water or let it out at pleasure into their mil, it was large enough and deep enough to keep fish in. There is a double wall on that side and gates through them, the rest is single wal'd. Just before the C(ommunion) Table is a well, the mouth cover'd with a round stone: into this in troublesome times one of the calogery threw the B. V. picture and a great candle with it, which stayed there 70 or 80 yeares: afterwards they were all taken out again and are shewn now, as miraculous things. The monastery and church was built first by Constantine M.², [dedication] the Evangelismós: it was much ruined by Julian the Apostate, and afterwards repair'd by Theodosius, then ruin'd by the Pope as they say, or rather by Michael Palaeologus latinophron, repair'd again by Andronicus. Βασίλιος βοέβοδα Βουγδανίας³ hath been a great benefactor to it and beautified it since the Turkes' time, amongst other things he gave an Epitaphion which then amongst other *stolismata* lay on the Communion Table; it was of scarlet plush embroydered with gold and silver, and all the saints' heades and hands and other parts were all set with very faire large pearle & studded with jewells; they say it is valued at least at 12,000 dollars. The Cupola stands upon 4 excellent large Pillars of ophites; they say Constantine or Theodosius fetcht them from Rome: the circumference at bottom of them is 1 ft. 5 inches. It is much of the forme of Sta. Sophia and hath been all cover'd with Mosaick work. There is yet in the inner *narthex* the Annuntiation admirably well done, the Angell on one side and the B.V. on the other, as likewise the old picture before mentioned (which then was set in the throne) was of the same work. Ἰωάννης Μύρτζ Οὐγγροβλαχίας⁴ (who was hang'd, see *Kotlmoises*) was at the charge of painting it last. Before the entrance into the *narthex* hang'd a very rich embroydered Antiport⁵ given by Andronicus. There were embroydered these devices which I described because I haue observed some of the like fancy on the

B 350 v. (4) | brasse gates at the out door of Sta. Sophia of which elsewhere (Fig. 5).⁶ The

¹ The last part of the inscription is a clumsy copy of a rendering of the Greek in old Slavonic: it implies the substitution of εὐλαβεστάτου or εὐσεβεστάτου for εὐγενεστάτου above. The voivode Stephanus (1456–1504) has left an inscription (Millet, 137) at the arsenal of Vatopedi: he was also a benefactor of Zographou (Braconnier, 1007).

² The connection with Constantine is of course purely legendary.

³ 1634–54, see above, § 9.

⁴ The (implied) inscription is unknown to Millet. The benefactor was probably one of the Moldavian voivodes, Mircea II. (1418–19), or more probably III. (1545–54 and 1558–9): cf. Millet, 462.

⁵ Antiport, Anteport = curtain.

⁶ Two monograms (Ἀνδρόνικος Παλαιολόγος | δεσπότης) are figured by Millet (Pl. II. 2, No. 74) from a curtain at Vatopedi, but these appear to be different.

outward gates are here of brass likewise, and have the salutation there engraved.

There are now about 350 *kalogeroi*, their expence may be about 5,000 dollars. They have 5 *metochia*, the rest are destroy'd or lost or taken away by the Turkes. The tower of *Chiliadar* is theirs, that monastery being but a colony of this. Before *Bulgarians* and *Greekes* lived together in *Vatopedi*, but, *Sabbas* building that, the *Bulgarians* went by themselves, *Vatopedi* giving them their ground and part of their *kalogeroi*, there going out at that time about 1000 *kalogeroi*, which gave occasion to its name *chilidar* in *Bulgar*, being onely 1000 Bees,¹ as, a swarm.

It² is very big, yet not larger than 'Αγ. Λαύρα, onely the square hath nothing in it but the hall, chappel and magazines, whereas *Laura* hath many little chappels and offices that croud's the court so as it appears a rude, confused heap. It is built onely on the N. side and a little on the E.: from E. to W. runs a gallery 145 paces long. The hall (as all the rest) is a long crosse (at the lower end are the wings) placed so just against the church that if all the doores be open the *hegoumenos* at dinner can set and



FIG. 5.—VATOPEDIO: DEVICES ON THE ANTIPORT.

see the ἄγιον βῆμα. The fountain bason 4 feet two inch broad, cupola vaulted upon an old stone pillar stands to the right hand going from Hall to Chappell and hath eight little pillars. They make the μικρὸν ἁγιασμὸν there the first Sunday in every month and blesse every person and room there, as likewise every great feastival. We were there on St. George's day, and the preist came up and blest us and we (as the custome is) kisst the crosse. There is by the side of the Crosse Hall the *Mesokómion* (in all monasterys), Docheion over *scevo-phylaca* or magazine, offices aside. The hall long 29 steps, broad 6, 24 tables besides the *hegoumenos*.

There is in one of their towers a great Iron gun or two, and severall petararos,³ now uselesse; heretofore in the *Greekes'* time they served for their gard. Corsairs seldome trouble them but onely for a little wine and bread.

They gave us Limpets there thrice as big as oures in England and

¹ The suggested derivation is from (Bulg.) *chiliado* (=thousand) and (Tk.) *aré* (=bee). The word is also said to mean '1,000 lions' (λεοντάδια) and '1,000 robbers,' the latter from a legendary attack on the monastery.

² Covet now returns to *Vatopedi*.

³ Peteraro = Sp. *Pedrero*, a gun originally intended for projecting stones (cf. Fr. *Pierrier*). All guns were removed from *Athos* after the Revolution troubles: Hunt mentions them still in 1800 at *Vatopedi*.

yellow, all cover'd with a fat yellow mosse which they eat either alone or with oyl ; and tast well. Very large Echini as bigge again as oures.

They have several *simantro's*,¹ βαρὺ, μεγάλο, μικρὸ, belonging to the church, many other for other offices and work ; several bells, a Campanarion of lousy stone (Fig. 6) : in a marble ΕΤΟΥΣ | Σ, Θλέ' (ινδ.) ε'.² Sundays



FIG. 6.—VATOPEDIO : 'a Campanarion of lousy stone.'

and holy days read Κυριακοδρόμιο, the Leives of the Saints. If a Saint's day fall of the Sunday, the saint's life read. Out of the hall door, on the right hand, a canopy with the B.V. in it: the hegoumenos stand there and blesse the people passing by to church after πρόγευμα and απόδειπνο. At the end of every hall tables on purpose.

There are several tombes (princes, patriarchs) about the church,

¹ The well-known wooden beam or iron bar struck with a hammer to announce services, etc.

² A.M. 6935=1427 (Millet, 115 b : the inscription and tower are shown in Pl. XI.).

fountain etc. Macarius metropolites Thessalonicae alias Michael Monachos μεγαλόσχημος ζ,να' ινδ. Α'.¹ On one of the pillars renewed, cut out of an old stone:—ΘΕΟΥΟΛΙΤΩΝΕΜΩΝΑΝΑΒΟΥΛΗ. St. Nicolaos, excellent *mosaick* work without the fount upon the wall blessing as the patriarch, as old, I beleive, as the church. The bells little; IN TE DOMINE SPERAVI from Poland.² All kitchens vaulted and the fire in the midst, with a great crane or sweep: in all an ἀρχοντάρι, a little kitchen by. The doores to the W., the granary to the W. Here they bake, sometimes more, sometimes less, 15 kintals flour±. They stint the *kalogero's* to 3 loaves & 3½ oakes wine: but in the magazine 1300 meters, as big again as oures or rather 16 oakes apeice.

B 351 r. (5) They are *stavropegion*³ and can call what Bishop they please. | Now they had the Archbishop Βουγδανίας and haue a good house and garden there a little out of the monastery: snakes very big and long in it.

It is a pretty odde thing at vespers &c, the blessing, or at meales (the prayer oft last before they crosse) they complement one another who should give it.

§ 14.—Of Dochiario and Simeno.

A 45 v. The best church at Δοχειαρίον,⁴ yet it is onely for the *narthex* which is as large as the church, the church itself being no bigger than Laura, Ibero, and lesse than Batoped. The pillars there are very large.

At *Siméno*⁵ the cistern or font, which is in all monasterys between the hall and the church, I beleive in the place of the old κολυμβήθρα in the προπυλαίων) is the fairest, of a kind of porphyry, and at least as big again as Laura, that is about 14 foot diameter.⁶ In such as these primitiue baptisme in the G. church was certainly made, for here they may very easily make their *trina immersio*; and the custome of such great basons was from the heathens, see Isis-Serapis temple at Ephesus.

§ 15.—Of the Isthmus.

A 42 r. The Isthmus never was high, so as the cuts should be expected to be seen, but was low ground, and is about 3 mile long from the σύνορα of M. Santo to the continent, and about 1½ mile broad, and hath now a little

¹ Millet, 114, with date 5,78' = 1546.

² The inscription (not in Millet) is evidently from a bell: 'from Poland' is probably a misunderstanding of the signature of the Venetian bell-founders *de Polis*. Cf. Millet, 38 (inscription on a bell at Protaton), *Opus aeratum de Polis*, where *heredum* should be read as in a Chian bell inscription ('Αθηνά, xx. 298 (49). Bells were exported by Venice to the East already in the fourteenth century (Anon. Coloniensis, in *Z. f. Deutsche Philologie*, xix. 70).

³ *Stavropegion*: the derivation is from the planting of a cross sent by the patriarch on the altar of the church taken under his protection; see Εὐχολόγιον.

⁴ This church, well illustrated by Brockhaus, was built in 1568 by Alexander of Moldavia: the high proportions, large narthex, tall domes, and especially the buttresses (unique in Athos) are Moldavian features (cf. *Rev. Arch.* 1910, 88 ff.).

⁵ This form of the more correct Ἐσφιγμένον occurs also in the *Proskynetarion*.

⁶ The *phiale* of Esphigménou is mentioned by Smyrnakes, himself an Esphigmenite monk, as no longer existing (p. 640).

kind of swamp or ditch crosse; and I question not but that Xerxes did not cut the mountain, but onely the lowe Isthmus and that onely by a little trench big enough and deep enough to let a galley passe, which may very well have since by degrees been grown up again.¹ There is nothing
 A 43 r. more familiar than this story among them of an old king that || made a laccus (λάκκος) there.

§ 16.—*Of their Libraries in general.*

A 45 v. All the *scevoyphylaca's* were gone abroad, so that I could not take an account of all their books as I design'd; yet I view'd several 1000 ds. and found them all divinity, fathers, counsels, evangelia, old and new testament in parts, comentators, homilyes, *τριώδιον*, *μηναῖον*, church books, *Γρηγορίου* Theol., Scholia in Basilium, *Πρακτικὰ* S^{vae} Synodi antiq. MS. I beleieve there are noe bookes of humane learning there left though I cannot be so severe as to say (with Bel.) that it is excommunication for them [to] read them. I was informed by many that about 20 or 25 yeare since was one Athanasios *Κυπριότης*, emplyed by the K. of France, who bought and stole away all that was good for anything of all sorts.²

§ 17.—*Of our Leavetaking and Departure from Monte Santo.*

When we took our leave at the castle, Joseph the ecclesiarches blest us and conveyed us into a little chapple in the tower and heartily pray'd|
 (7:1 750) for us and with the *Χριστὸς ἀνέστη* dismissed us (*να̑ σα̑ς φυλάγη ὁ Θεὸς καὶ ἡ Παναγία*).

A 45 r. Friday 27 [April 1677]. We came back to Lemnos.

The interest of Covell's account, apart from the fact that it is the earliest known relation by an English traveller, is varied. The details of life and administration at the Lavra do not occur, so far as I know, in any author of this date. In particular it is important to note that there is no hint of any of the monasteries visited being *idiorrhhythmic*: certainly the great houses—Lavra, Ivéron, and Vatopédi, all now *idiorrhhythmic*—were then *coenobia*. This is the characteristic of the age: agitation against the coenobitic system existed before the beginning of the XV. century,³ but in

¹ See however Leake, *N. Greece*, 145. Struck, *Maked. Fahrten*, i. 68. Paisius (*Itin. Russes*), 281, gives the interesting information that in his day (1550) ships were dragged across the isthmus.

² See above, p. 105.

³ Meyer, *Haupturkunden*, p. 61.

the second half of the XVI. there seems to have been a tendency against it. The old rule was restored to Lavra (then very decayed) by Jeremias II. in 1574,¹ to Vatopédi in 1557,² and it appears that the monasteries in general followed suit.³ In Covell's day the short tenure of the *hegoumenos* and the degrading conditions which decided his election must have detracted from the weight of the office, but his authority was in theory at least, absolute. A second reform period occurred about 1800 and between 1784 and 1813 nine of the smaller monasteries (Xenophóntos, Esphigménou, Simópetra, Russikó, Dionysíou, Caracállou, Zográphou and Koutloumoussi) became *coenobia*.⁴ At present the richer monasteries, except Russikó and Zográphou, prefer the newer rule, though Chiliandari is said to wish to change to the earlier.⁵

The dates of buildings, etc., given by Covell are for the most part already known, surprisingly few of the inscriptions he noticed having since disappeared. At no monastery does he remark building in progress, which is characteristic of the period of general depression and poverty over the Aegean area during and after the Cretan war. The building activity on Athos reflects throughout the economic state of this area from the fall of Constantinople onwards. Earlier buildings, chiefly churches repaired again and again, are astonishingly few and far between.

An apparent exception to this rule is to be found in the great towers which form so striking a feature on the mountain, and to which Covell attributes an origin more ancient than the use of gunpowder. These towers either form parts of the monasteries themselves, being placed at some strategic point of the *enceinte* (commanding the gate, as at Caracállou, Stavronikéta, or at an angle or the highest point, as at Pantokrátoros, Dionysíou, Docheiariou, and originally Chiliandari) or guard the monastic ports (fine examples at Lavra, Caracállou, Ivéron). Lofty proportions and bold machicolated designs are characteristic of both types. In a monas-

¹ *Ibid.* Stavroniketa was founded (1542) as a coenobion (Νέος Ἑλληνομονημων, vii. 174 [191]).

² Gedeon, "Ἀθῶς, p. 867; Smyrnakes ("Ἁγίου" Ὄρος, p. 44) has 1573 (cf. Paisius of Chiliandari, *Itin. Russes*, 280), and says it was *idiorrhythmic* in 1661.

³ Gerlach (*Tagebuch*, 459) in 1578, on the authority of Athonite monks, says that all the monasteries had their *hegoumenoi*, thus implying that they were coenobia, since *idiorrhythmic* convents are governed by a committee: but in some cases a titular *hegoumenos* is appointed.

⁴ Meyer, 82: to the list must be added Castamonitou (1799, Smyrnakes, p. 685).

⁵ The word begs the question, since the partisans of the *idiorrhythmic* rule claim that it is the older as representing the original grouping of hermits. To a western the community of goods and close association of the *coenobion* seems indispensable to monastic rule, and the actual life of the *coenobion* stricter and more austere.

tery the tower often served as library¹ and treasury,² the vaulted upper storey being generally a chapel. The port-towers (*ἀπορανάδες*³) have commonly an open lower storey communicating by a spacious arch with the boat-slip. When pirates were feared, the boats of the monastery were drawn up and the (iron) gates or grilles shut. Access to the tower itself was gained usually by a drawbridge to the first floor.

These towers, which are credited by the monks as by Covell with extreme antiquity, do indeed suggest the end of the middle ages. In reality, however, those which can be dated belong chiefly to the sixteenth, some even to the seventeenth century, the only notable exception being the 'tower of Tzimiskes' at Lavra: the attribution of this rests on tradition, and it was in any case restored in 1522, 1564, and 1688.⁴

The purely domestic buildings, which are more subject to fires, are for the most part even later in date.⁵ Of what we see, only a small proportion⁶ goes back beyond Covell to the hundred and fifty years before the Cretan war. The rest, if not quite modern, *i.e.* subsequent to the Greek war of Independence,⁷ date from the prosperous period from about 1750 to the war, during which the Greek world was growing steadily in intellectual, political, and commercial importance.⁸

Before this period domestic buildings were usually of rough stone, generally not more than two storeys high, and had galleries of wood.⁹ A characteristic of the later work is the extensive introduction of tile (an imported material), either alone or with occasional courses of cut stone: the tile-work is often developed, as in churches much earlier, into decorative

¹ Above, § 9. ² Above, § 8. ³ Above, § 7.

⁴ Millet, *Inscriptions*, 411-413. The others are dated: A. Monastery towers; Iveron 1492 (Gedeon, 173), Dionysiou 1520 (Millet, 494), Caracallou c. 1524 (Petros Rares), Stavroniketa c. 1546 (cf. M. 214), Pantokratoros c. 1536 (M. 161), Docheiariou 1578 (Braconnier, 1005), H. Pavlou 1700 (Gedeon, 189): B. Harbour towers; Caracallou 1534 (M. 332), Simopetra 1567 (M. 536), Iveron 1622-5 (Gedeon, M. 289-90).

⁵ This chronological point seems worth making, since very erroneous opinions prevail on the subject: cf. especially Tozer, *Highlands of Turkey*, i. 54.

⁶ Most of Docheiariou, old court of Xenophontos, parts of Lavra, Stavroniketa, Pantokratoros, Dionysiou. The range at H. Pavlou mentioned by Brockhaus as dated (probably falsely: see Millet, 437) 1423, was recently destroyed by fire.

⁷ H. Pavlou, Philotheou, most of Russiko, Zographou, and Esphigmenou, new court of Gregoriou.

⁸ Building was probably stimulated by a firman of Achmet III. in 1719, which permitted fallen and decayed buildings to be rebuilt on the old lines, without the formalities hitherto insisted on (Smymnakes, 141).

⁹ E. side of Xenophontos, old court; range on S. side of Lavra; cf. Barsky's drawings.

patterns (Fig. 7).¹ Ranges of cells are often more than two storeys high, and the wooden galleries are replaced by open arcades of brick.²

With all this material change there is probably no place in Europe less affected by the spirit of the times than Athos. The progress of the Hellenic kingdom has inevitably weakened the attraction of the Holy Moun-



FIG. 7.—GREGORIOU: BELL-TOWER (LATE XVIII CENTURY).

tain for free Greeks, but I met one man under forty who had run away in his youth to become a monk from Marousi, near Athens, and the

¹ A fine example in the seaward range of Xenophontos, where the designs are based on those of Persian faïence.

² Good examples at Koutloumoussi (N. range), Xeropotamou (S.E. corner), Zographou (E. range), Chiliandari (W. side).

monastery of Esphigménou is still recruited mainly from the Peloponnese and H. Pavlou from the Ionian Islands. Within the community the old religious spirit, narrow it may be, but neither hypocritical nor intolerant, still survives, handed down by an unbroken chain of tradition from the time of Athanasius the Athonite to our own ; and the Englishman of to-day finds, especially perhaps in the poorer houses, the same kindly and disinterested welcome as our first representative in 1677.

F. W. HASLUCK.

GENOESE HERALDRY AND INSCRIPTIONS AT AMASTRA.

THE town of Amastra (*anc.* Amastris, *med.* Samastro), one of the most important of the ancient Greek colonies on the Euxine, and later a Genoese trading-post, lies on the neck and landward slopes of a steep peninsula forming a safe harbour on either side.¹ The peninsula is connected by a bridge with an adjacent island, on which are a few houses still protected on the harbour side by the mediaeval town-wall. The bridge is defended on either side by a gate-tower, and the city proper and castle, which are on the peninsula, retain their lofty walls and towers, built of squared blocks evidently plundered from Roman ruins (Fig. 1). Despite this plundering and the recent construction of the new road (still unfinished in 1910) to Bartin, extensive ancient remains still survive above ground on the mainland opposite the town, notably the large Roman building of brick and *opus reticulatum* called the Bezestein, two columns of a temple or mausoleum, many built tombs, and considerable remains of masonry embankment and vaulting about the stream which debouches into the smaller (W.) harbour. Saving the change of ownership, the place has altered but little since Clavijo's description in 1404:—

‘The town of Samastro belongs to the Genoese, and is near the sea . . . on a very high hill. Opposite this hill, but more inland, there is another on which the town is built ; and from one hill to another there is a great arch, like a bridge, by which people pass, and it has two gates, one at each end. The town is small and the houses are small, but outside the walls there are ruins of great edifices, churches, palaces, and houses ;

¹ Amastra is still considered after Sinope the best harbour of refuge for small craft on the Turkish coast of the Black Sea, but has no commercial importance on account probably of bad communications with its *hinterland*.

and it seemed that in former days the best part of the town was outside the walls.¹

Of more modern travellers Tournefort,² Ainsworth,² Tchihatchef,³



FIG. I.—GATE OF AMASTRA.

Hommaire de Hell⁴ and others⁵ have visited and described the place. Hommaire de Hell's *Atlas* contains lithographs of the town and its

¹ Hakluyt Society's Edition p. 57.

² *R. Geog. Journ.* ix. 233; *Travels*, i. 54-8.

³ *Asie Mineure, Atlas*, Pl. XXIV.

⁴ *Voy. en Turquie*, i. 331 ff., iv. Pl. XIX., XX.

⁵ Rottiers, *Itin. de Tiflis à Cons'table*, p. 273; Boré, *Corresp. et Mém.* i. 229 ff., 408 f.; W. von Diest in *Petermann's Mitt., Ergänzungsheft* 94, pp. 68-71; cf. G. Mendel in *B.C.H.* xxv. 25.

antiquities.¹ A short description with inaccurate drawings by Abraam of some of the heraldry is to be found in the publication of the Constantinople *Syllogos* for 1872.²

The sources for the history of the Genoese colony are scanty.³ A consul is mentioned as early as 1398,⁴ and five years earlier a Turkish Emir had been ejected by Bayezid I. A document concerning a Genoese expedition in 1402 *ad faciendum fieri quandam pacem* mentions a Turkish lord of Samastro.⁵ We may perhaps infer that the emir of 1393 was reinstated by Timur, but that, the Genoese being by then in possession of the town, some agreement was necessary as to the relative status of the two parties. It is natural to compare the case of Samsun, where a Christian and a Turkish town existed for some time side by side. In any case the colony of Samastro was probably tributary from its origin.⁶

In 1404, as we have seen, Samastro was accounted a Genoese city and governed by a consul nominated at Genoa, the other officers being appointed at Pera. Later it was transferred from the jurisdiction of Pera to that of Caffa, in 1449 restored to Pera, the Caffa government being still responsible for half the upkeep of the fortifications.⁷ Probably in 1459⁸ the town was taken and two-thirds of its population deported to Constantinople by Mahomet II.

The extant coats of arms, which are unfortunately supplemented in few instances by inscriptions or even dates, are shewn diagrammatically in Fig. 2. With regard to their interpretation it should be noted that at Pera a group of three shields is generally arranged (1) Doge, (2) Genoa, (3) Podestà: at Caffa, where the full complement is six shields, (1) the Khan of Tartary, (2) Genoa, (3) the Doge, (4) the Consul, (5 and 6) the *Massarij*, are represented. At Amastra we should expect to find the shields of the Doge, Genoa and the Consul.

¹ Pll. XXI.-XXIV.

² Vol. v. p. 47 and Pl. I.

³ The best account is given by Heyd (*Comm. du Levant* ii. 358): see also Tomaschek, *Sitzber. Ak. Wien*, cxxiv. (1891), 77; Canale, *Della Crimea* (1855-6).

⁴ *Atti Soc. Lig.* xiv. 103, 110.

⁵ *Rev. Or. Lat.* iv. 90, note.

⁶ Cf. *Atti Soc. Lig.* xlii. 269 (document of 1454): . . . *Si de dando tributa pro Samastra urbe quicquam proponetur vobis in curia Regis . . . respondendum erit tributum illius civitatis jam dudum solvi capitaneo seu rectori qui in illa regione praepositus est ab ipso rege Machometo . . . etc.*

⁷ *Memoirs Odessa Hist. Soc.* v. 810. The connection with Caffa was probably close throughout: in 1427 we read . . . *civitas [Amastra] Januensium est, tamen locuntur grecum et thartarescum sicut in Capha literas Grecorum habentes* (Νέος Ἑλληνομήμων, vii. 365).

⁸ Critobulus, iii. 17: for the date see Müller's exhaustive note.

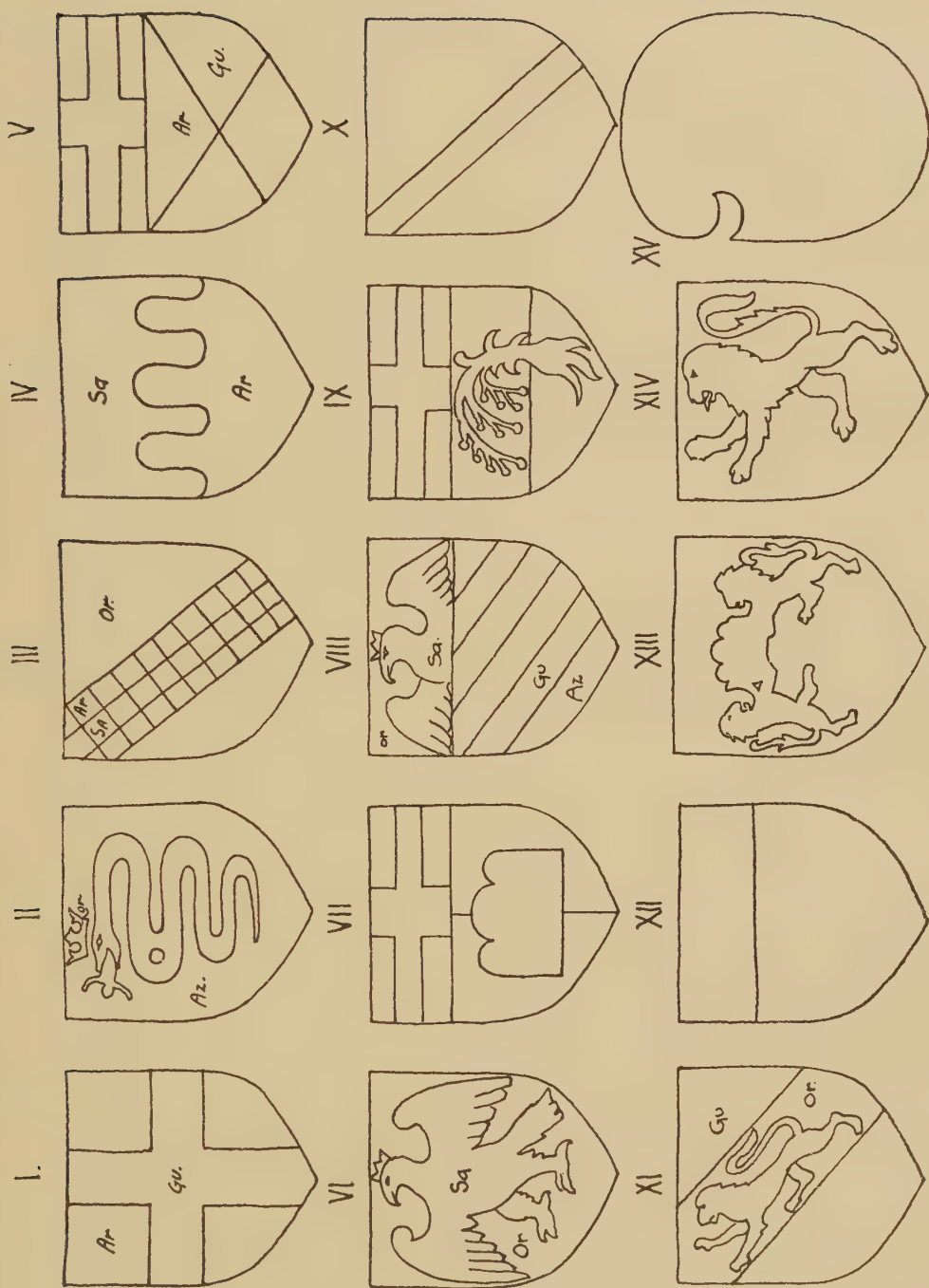


FIG. 2.—GENOESE ARMS AT AMASTRA.

During the Genoese tenure of Amastra the doges were as follows :—

1392-3	Leonardo Montalto
(1393-1413)	French occupation)
1413	Giorgio Adorno
1415	Bernabò Guarco
1415	Tommaso Campofregoso
(1421-36)	Milanese occupation)
1436	Tommaso Campofregoso <i>iterum</i>
1443	Raffaele Adorno
1447	Giovanni Campofregoso
1448	Ludovico „
1450	Pietro „

Of these Adorno and Campofregoso are represented by shields at Amastra. Of the consuls, besides those mentioned below, only one, Agostino Usodimare (1451), is known.¹

The disposition of the shields is as follows :—

1. Built into old hospital (on W. harbour), marble slab, plastered, 0·37 × 0·85 m.

III. Adorno I. Genoa. XIV. Gazano (?)
(defaced)

The attribution of shield (XIV) is based on the heraldry from Caffa.² The cross of Genoa has evidently been defaced as repugnant to Turkish feeling.

2. In a tower of the citadel facing the E. harbour, high up, white marble slab with shields.

IV. Fregoso. I. Genoa. VIII. Luxardo.

The date, from the occurrence of VIII., is probably shortly after 1436 (cf. No. 5 below). The arms of Luxardo occur (without the chief) as early as 1317.³

3. In the same tower higher up, white marble slab with three shields all of the peculiar form *à bouche* shewn above (Fig. 2, XV.).

¹ *Atti Soc. Lig.* xiii. 221.

² *Mem. Odessa Soc.* vii. Pl. IV.

³ At f. 81 of the Pasqua heraldic MS., in the possession of the Società Ligure at Genoa, which the Society kindly allowed me to consult. The name Luxardo occurs in the consular lists of Caffa as early as 1415 (Schlumberger, *Num. Or. Lat.* 463).

IV. Fregoso. I. Genoa. XI. De' Zoagli.

The arms (XI.) are given as de' Zoagli in the Pasqua MS.¹ A Niccolò de' Zoagli was Podestà of Pera in 1391–2² and a Taddeo in 1420.³ The Fregoso arms date this slab after 1415, and its position above (2) makes it probable that it was set up between 1447–1450.

4. Above the gate on the E. harbour (Kaleh Kapu), lintel-stone with shields :—

XII. (defaced). I. Genoa (defaced). XIII. de Montenegro (?).

On the first shield a chief can still be made out, but the bearing on the lower part of the shield is unrecognisable. The attribution of coat (XIII.) is based on two very similar shields, with inscriptions of 1421 and 1357, copied in the Pasqua MS.⁴ In these, however, the lions do not support the mount but are placed on either side of it. A somewhat similar coat is given to Monleone by a Genoese inscription of 1369 in the Palazzo Bianco.⁵

Above and below the heraldry runs the inscription in Gothic capitals :—

MCCCCXXXI die p(ri)ma Madii hoc [opus fecit fieri?] egreg[ius]
d(omi)n(u)s Benedic(tus) . . . s . . ne IITSII.

The last part of the inscription is much worn. As the date falls within the Milanese occupation it may be permissible to suggest that the Milanese ambassador Benedictus de Fourlino seen at Constantinople in 1432 by Bertrandon de la Brocquière⁶ may have been responsible.

5. In the tower of the town-wall on the peninsula, facing the mainland, white marble slab, high up, bearing shields :—

I. Genoa. VIII. Luxardo. II. Visconti.
(YHS. above.)

The shield of Visconti, evidently preserved by its inaccessible position (see below, No. 7), dates the slab between 1421–36.

¹ f. 87 (1380), 101 (1382).

² Belgrano, *Documenti di Pera* (*Atti Soc. Lig.* xiii.), Nos. xxxiv., xxxvi., xxxvii.

³ *Ibid.* lxxiii.

⁴ ff. 133, 135.

⁵ No. 290 : cf. Pasqua MS. f. 103 (1369).

⁶ Bohn, p. 335 : see also notes in Schefer's edition.

6. Above the postern just beyond and left of the bridge, white marble slab with arms :—

IV. Fregoso. I. Genoa. X. de' Ghizolfi.

The shield (X.) is shewn by Hommaire de Hell¹ doubled and flanking the arms of Genoa. It occurs with the name of de Ghizolfis at Caffa.²

7. In the tower right of the citadel gate (Zindan Kapu), white marble slab with arms :—

I. Genoa. VIII. Luxardo. (defaced).
(YHS. above.)

Below in relief on detached sunk panels is the inscription in Gothic ('blackletter') minuscules :—

(*l.*) Petrus. (*r.*) dux gen(uen)s(ium).
MCCCCXXXV.

This stone is figured by Abraam and (better) by Hommaire de Hell,³ neither of whom reproduces the inscription correctly. The only *Petrus* in our list of Genoese doges is P. Campofregoso (1450–61). It will be noted (1) that the date is unsuitable, and (2) that the Fregoso arms do not occur. In 1435, Genoa being in Milanese hands, there was no doge. We are justified in assuming that the defaced shield bore the *biscia* of Visconti (as No. 5), which was chiselled out and the inscription recut with the exception of the date by P. Campofregoso.⁴

8. Above the citadel gate, four shields in frame, the lower three on a marble block (Fig. 3) :—

I. Genoa
VII. Poggio I. Genoa. IX. Malaspina (?).

This group is figured by Hommaire de Hell and Abraam. The arms of Poggio—*parti de gu. et arg. à un mont isolé de trois coupeaux de sin.*⁵—occur without the chief of Genoa at Pera,⁶ where Cristoforo del Poggio was *massarius* in 1427.⁷

¹ Vol. iv. Pl. XX₂.

² *Mem. Odessa Soc.* v. Pl. I. 10 (1467).

³ Pl. XXIV.

⁴ A Perote inscription of the same date (*Atti Soc. Lig.* xiii. Pl. XI.) has the central shield defaced, the only other of the period being battered all over (*ibid.* Pl. X). A stone at Famagusta has shields of Genoa and Adorno flanking a defaced shield, and the foreign insignia seem to have been effaced in the same way by the Genoese of Chios (*B.S.A.* xvi. 146 [4]; cf. 147 [9]).

⁵ Rietstap, *s.v.*; Fransone, Pl. XVII.

⁶ *B.S.A.* xi. 55; cf. *Mem. Odessa Soc.* v. Pl. I. 16.

⁷ *Atti Soc. Lig.* xiii. 193.

The Genoese branch of Malaspina bore a different coat in later times, but there are many variations. The family came into favour with the Visconti during the Milanese period, so that the upper and redundant shield of Genoa very possibly replaces the Visconti arms.

9. Inside the citadel gate, to right of the entrance, white marble slab, high up, with shields :—

I. Genoa. V. Boccanegra.



FIG. 3.—ARMS AT AMASTRA (8).

If, as is possible, (V.) refers to the doge, the shield cannot be later than 1363 and is by far the earliest record of the Genoese at Amastra.

10. Top step of outside stair at the entrance to Barut-Khaneh, white marble fragment 0.50 × 0.34 m. with arms.

III. Adorno.

11. High up above the window of Barut-Khaneh, bluish marble slab with arms.

I. Genoa. (YHS. above. VIII. Luxardo.
defaced shield)

For the defaced shield cf. note on No. **7**.

12. (Fig. 4) White marble slab, measuring 0'45 × 1'40 m., with four shields in a sunk compartment, viz :—

VI. Doria. I. Genoa. IV. Fregoso. VI. Doria.



FIG. 4.—ARMS FROM AMASTRA (**12**).

On the frame above and below is the inscription in Gothic capitals :—

+ MCCCCVII die VII Marcii hoc opus
regiminis consulatu nobilis et |
egregi d(omi)ni Ansaldi de Auria.

Ansaldo Doria was podestà of Pera in 1435 (*Atti Soc. Lig.* xiii. 204), so there is probably an error in the date.

The stone, which I saw serving as the threshold of a building in the courtyard of Barut-Khaneh, has now been removed to the Imperial Museum at Constantinople. I am indebted to the Director for the photograph from which the block is made.

F. W. HASLUCK.

APPENDIX I.

GENOESE MONUMENTS AT TREBIZOND.

The Genoese had a commercial settlement at Trebizond from an early date and held the fortress of Leontocastron (now Guzel Hissar)¹ from about 1300: it was given back in 1316, retaken in 1349, and held thenceforward till the Turkish Conquest.² At the landing-place immediately under the castle, stands the church of S. Eleutherios, which, being dedicated to a pope buried in Genoa,³ presumably represents the Church of the Genoese factory.

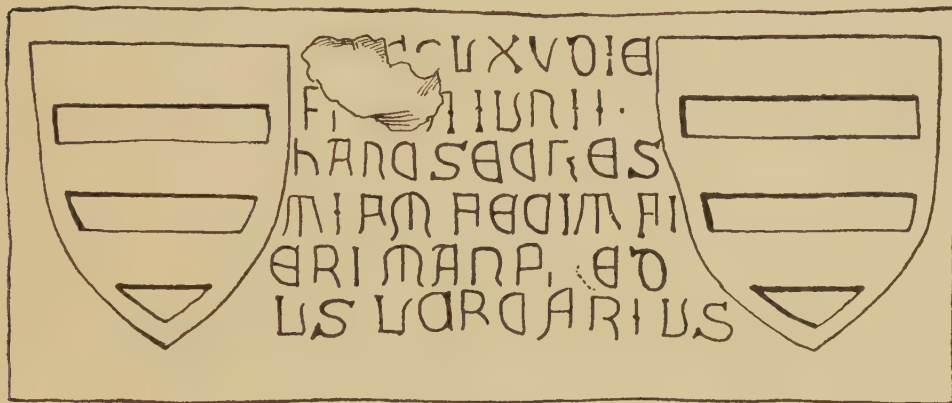


FIG. 5.—GENOESE INSCRIPTION AT TREBIZOND.

Inside the church, moreover, built into the N. wall, is a marble slab 0·41 × 0·95 m., with inscription in roughly cut Gothic capitals about 0·04 m. high, between two pointed shields bearing the arms of Lercari (or, *à trois barres gu.*) (Fig. 5):—

MCCCLXV die | primo Iunii hanc Secres|tiam fecit fi|eri Manfred|us Lercarius.

A quite illegible copy of this inscription is published in the Constantinople *Syllogos*, xxix. p. 299. It was also seen and copied by Finlay in 1850, who further records:—

(a) on the left of the altar, a shield bearing a double cross crosslet ‘Yellow outline on white ground.’

¹ The table-like rock on which this fort stands, not the Byzantine site, is obviously the original Trebizond, though no one save Mr. Bryce seems to recognise it as such. It is significant that with the decay of the artificial Byzantine harbour the anchorage under Guzel Hissar has again come into use.

² Fallmerayer, *Gesch. Trebiz.* 161 ff.; *Originalfragmente*, ii. 23, and note xviii.; Heyd, *Hist. du Commerce du Levant*, ii. 95 ff.

³ Stella, *s.a.* 1381: there was a church of this dedication also at Chios (Νεαμονήσια, 191; Rhodokanakes, *Ἰουστινιάναι*, 182, note 48). S. Eleutherios is of course recognised by both communions.

(b) 'over the door on the inner side of the arch,' the inscription:—

ΑΥΤΗ Η ΠΥΛ(Η) ΤΟΥ Κ(ΥΡΙΟΥ) ΔΙΚ(ΑΙΟΙ) (ΕΙ)ΣΕΛΕΥΣΟΝΤ(ΑΙ). 1360. ΧΙΔΔΔΔΔ

αὐτὴ ἡ πύλ(η) τοῦ Κ(υρίου) δίκ(αιοι) (εἰ)σελεύσοντ(αι). 1360.

This inscription (Ps. cxviii. 20) is commonly found on Byzantine lintels.¹

The family of Lercari seems to have played a prominent part in the Genoese Black Sea trade. A Megollo Lercario, domiciled at Trebizond under Alexius III., was a cause of a war between Genoa and the Empire about 1379;² five members of the family held the important consulate of Caffa between 1404 and 1473;³ the arms recur on an inscription of Balaclava,⁴ and a Vincenzo Lercario repaired at his own expense the Genoese Castle on the Bosphorus.⁵

APPENDIX II.

NOTES ON GENOESE MONUMENTS OF PERA.

I owe to the kindness and skill of Mr. Ramsay Traquair the drawing here reproduced (Fig. 6) of the arms above Haryb Kapu in Galata:⁶



FIG. 6.—ARMS AT HARYB KAPU, GALATA.

¹ Cf. H. Rott, *Kleinas. Denkm.* 322.

² Fallmerayer, *Gesch. Trebiz.* 200; Finlay, iv. 380; Desimoni, *Intorno dell' Impresa di M. L.* in *Atti Soc. Lig.* xiii. 513 ff., 527 ff.; Heyd, *loc. cit.* 98.

³ *Mem. Odessa Soc.* vii. 821-2; Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient latin*, p. 463.

⁴ *Mem. Odessa Soc.* ii. 319, Fig. 3.

⁵ *Atti Soc. Lig.* xiii. 334 (31).

⁶ *B.S.A.* xi. 54: the gate is shewn on p. 53, Fig. 3 (1).

MENIMPERANTE:SERENISSIMO:
 D^NO:D^NO:ANDRONICO:PALEO-
 LOGO:DEI:G^RA:IMPERATORE:RO-
 MEORV:^MCCCII^MEDIFICATA:FCIT:
 PEYRA:ET:^MCCCX^MC^OBASTAFUT:
 MEDIETAS:PEYRE:Q^UE:ECCLIA:PALA-
 CIO:COIS:ET:^MCCCX^MU^MTPRE:PO-
 TESTACIE:D^NI:NOTARI:D^NARINIS:
 REDIFICATA:FCIT:PEYRA:QVI:D^NS:
 MONTANREDIFICARI:FECH:PALA-
 CIO:PLATEA:LOGIE:hOSPITALI:
 ET:DOMV:PORDERIS:COIS:ET:EDI-
 FIC:EX:G^RA:SE:BI:CONCESSA:ADIC-
 TO:SERENISSIMO:IMPERATORE:DO-
 MOS:IOXIA:FOSSATA:IRCATERRA:
 PEYRE:DILIGITE:ASTICIA:Q^UON-
 DICATIS:TERRA:ADI:ADVERSAM:
 PARTEM:TE:QVA:FERAS:SETECIAM:

FIG. 7.—GENOESE INSCRIPTION FROM GALATA.

the shields are of (1) Doria, (2) Genoa, (3) de Merude, the last being identified by an inscription of Philippus de Merude dated 1372.¹

I should here remark that the coat assigned by the inscription *B.S.A.* xi. 57 to de Levanto is probably a faulty rendering of that given to the Genoese family by Fransone² (*party per pale* sa. and gu., *six lozenges* or. *conjoined in pale*).

A block from Covel's drawing (Fig. 7) of the inscription published in *B.S.A.* xi. 61 is annexed. It is evidently from the courts of justice: for the moral tag at the end we may compare the list of virtues at the end of the recently discovered inscription of the *loggia* of Mytilene.³

F. W. HASLUCK.

¹ *Ibid.* p. 60.

² Pl. XXV.

³ Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων, vi. 342-4; better in Βυζαντίς, ii. 266.

HERALDRY OF THE RHODIAN KNIGHTS, FORMERLY IN SMYRNA CASTLE.

THE two white marble slabs shewn below (Figs. 2, 3), originally in the castle of S. Peter at Smyrna, are now built into the circular court of the prison, high up, facing the entrance from the street. I was first apprised of their whereabouts by the late Dr. Weber, who himself published them in the somewhat inaccessible *Ἡμερολόγιον τῆς Ἀμαλθείας*.¹ For access to the prison I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. E. Harris, Consul-General of the United States.

The history of the castle need not long occupy us here.² It is sufficient to say that it dated from the capture of Smyrna in 1344 by a combined Christian fleet under Jean de Biandra, Prior of Lombardy, and was held by the Papacy till 1374, when it was transferred to the Knights of S. John (Grand Master de Julliac) by Gregory XI. In 1392 it was repaired for the Order by Domenico d'Allemagna, Admiral of Rhodes, at the charges of G. M. de Heredia,³ again by G. M. de Naillac in 1398, and finally stormed by Timur in 1399.⁴ It was never recovered by the Knights, who are said to have built the new castle of S. Peter (Budrum) to replace it as a mainland stronghold.⁵

Timur is said to have razed the castle to the ground,⁶ but a fort

¹ 1894, pp. 150-154.

² The best view of its history is given by Mas-Latrie, *Trésor de Chronologie*, 1789 f.: see also Bosio, Vertot, and Tomaschek in *Sitzb. Akad. Wien*, cxxiv. (1891), p. 27.

³ Perhaps after being damaged by the earthquake of 1389 (*Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*, vii. 146 (82)).

⁴ So Muralt: others place the capture in 1398 (Bosio) and 1404 (Sherif-ed-din).

⁵ For the date of the building of Budrum, Bosio gives 1399, Buondelmonti 1400 (map of Kos).

⁶ Theod. Niemius, *de Schismate*, ii. xxx.: *Castrum solo coaequavit, adeo quòd etiam, ut ipsimet fratres dicti hospitalis aiunt cum c milibus florenorum auri in statum pristinum reduci non posset.*

occupying the old position (at the entrance to the ancient closed port) is mentioned by successive travellers from the early seventeenth century down to our own day¹ (Fig. 1). Its age was to some extent guaranteed by the Christian arms left *in situ* and Mas-Latrie believed it to be of Latin

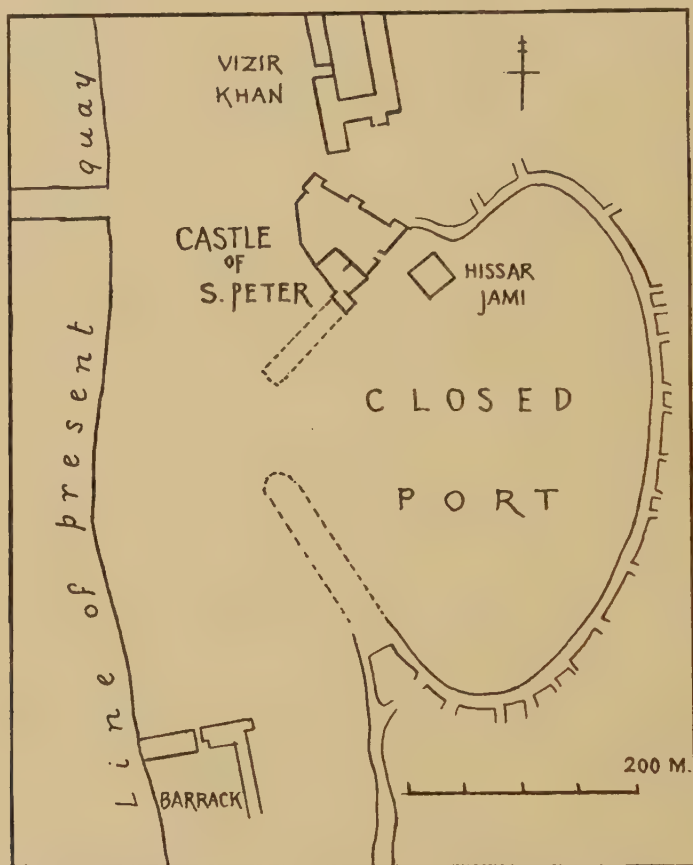


FIG. 1.—SKETCH-PLAN OF CASTLE OF S. PETER AND ENVIRONS.

construction except the battlements, which are shewn by Flandin's drawing to have been 'swallow-tailed' as at Rhodes. The plan of the castle appears to have been triangular, each side measuring about

¹ D'Arvieux (1654), i. 53; Thévenot, i. 289; Le Bruyn; Earl of Sandwich, 307; Hobhouse, i. 620; Arundell, *Asia Minor*, ii. 401; Prokesch, *Wiener Jahrbücher f. Litteratur*, Anzeigerblatt 67 (1834), 65; Mas-Latrie, *Rev. Miss. Arch.* (1850), 104.

100 metres, with walls twenty-five feet high, flanking towers, and an inner enclosure (τὸ ἐνδότερον of Ducas) at the corner commanding the mouth of the harbour.¹ Some idea of its appearance is given by the drawings of Le Bruyn, Tournefort, La Borde,² and Flandin.³ It ceased to be of importance after the building of Sanjak Kaleh (c. 1650) and was probably dismantled about this date. It was not demolished till 1872, being then full of Turkish houses.⁴

The ancient port adjoining the castle served as a harbour and dry-dock for galleys and small native craft in the seventeenth and eighteenth

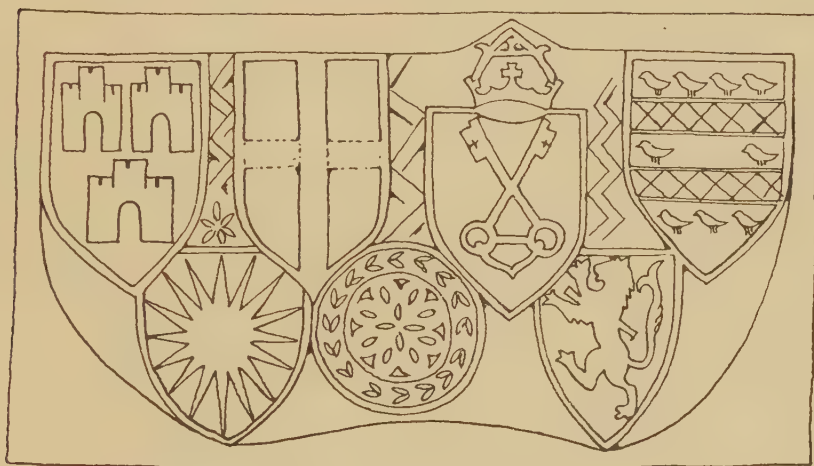


FIG. 2.—ARMS FROM CASTLE OF S. PETER, SMYRNA (NO. 1).

centuries, but gradually silted up. In 1621 large vessels could still enter it,⁵ but in Chandler's time it was dry except after very heavy rains, and in 1834 the whole of the ground was built over.⁶ A small pool, probably an open drain, marks the last trace of the harbour in the English charts of 1844.

The arms of the Papacy over the seaward gate of the castle have been noted by several travellers.⁷ Of these the most explicit is Mas-Latrie, who

¹ Weber, *loc. cit.*

² *Voy. en Asie Mineure*, Pl. III. p. 7.

³ *L'Orient*, i. Pl. XLVII.

⁴ Weber, *loc. cit.*, Παλιγγενεσία, Apr. 15, 1872.

⁵ Des Hayes, 343: cf. de Burgo's account in 1680 (*Viaggio*, i. 459).

⁶ Arundell, *loc. cit.*

⁷ D'Arvieux, i. 53; Thévenot, i. 289; Arundell, ii. 401; Mas-Latrie, *Rev. des Miss.* i. (1850)

104=*Bibl. Ec. des Chartes*, IIs. ii. 560.

saw there in 1845 a marble slab with three shields, recognizable from his description as identical with our slab (2) (Fig. 3). Beside this was a second (which has since disappeared) with two shields, one charged with three rows of isolated towers (*tourelles*), the other circular with a charge resembling a wheel. Two blocks are noted in the same position by Arundell, so there can be no question of confusion with our slab (1) (Fig. 2).

In discussing the heraldry of the two slabs, the second may be neglected, as all the arms in it occur also in the first. It may be remarked that (2) is rather better than (1) in workmanship, especially in the decora-

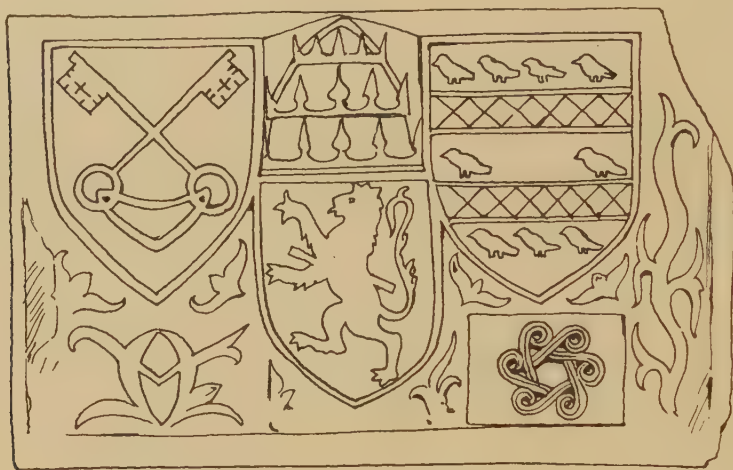


FIG. 3.—ARMS FROM CASTLE OF S. PETER, SMYRNA (No. 2).

tion, which resembles the ordinary Genoese work of the period, that of (1) being crude and childish in the extreme.¹

The arms shewn on block (1) (Fig. 2) are as follows (left to right):—

(1) de Heredia, (2) Order of S. John, (3) Papacy, (4) d'Allemagna, (5) des Baux (?), (6) ———.

(1) Ferdinand de Heredia was Grand Master 1376–1396. The arms should be, *gu.* seven towers, *arg.* 3, 3, and 1.² The variation is accounted

¹ The dimensions of the blocks as given by Weber are 1'04 × 0'50 m. and 1'00 × 0'70 m. respectively. I was unable to reach them.

² They are, however, blazoned in various ways; at Rhodes we find in two cases seven towers arranged 2, 1, 2, 1, 1 (Belabre, *Rhodes*, p. 47, Fig. 28, p. 164, Fig. 167), once five towers, 2, 1, 2 (*ibid.* p. 89, Fig. 73). In the castle of Kos, three castles, two and one, the castles three-towered as here.

for by the inferior workmanship of the stone; we have seen that the correct bearing was given in the missing stone.

(2) In the second shield the cross has been intentionally defaced by the Turks.

(4) These arms commemorate Domenico d'Allemagna who repaired the fortifications in 1392 and was to some extent responsible for the work done under de Naillac in 1398.¹ Combined with the arms of de Heredia they satisfactorily fix the date of both slabs. Though not the arms assigned to d'Allemagna by de Goussancourt² they are described exactly by Campanile,³ who comments on the variety of arms borne by this family. They also occur several times at Rhodes:—

(a) formerly on the harbour walls (old post of Italy) with the arms of de Heredia and a coat bearing three nails, also (a later addition?) the arms of de l'Isle Adam as Grand Master, and others:⁴

(b) formerly on the gate of S. Nicolas with the arms of de Heredia and the three nails.⁵

These probably date from the last years of de Heredia, when d'Allemagna acted for him in Rhodes.

(c) Formerly in the hospital of S. Catharine, patroness of the Italian Langue.⁶ D'Allemagna is known to have founded the chapel of S. Catharine with a hostel used for entertaining distinguished guests.⁷

(d) on a relief of the Virgin now preserved in the Latin Church.⁸ D'Allemagna is known to have built a chapel of the Virgin in the conventual church.⁹

¹ Bosio, ii. 111. The repairs were carried out by Buffillo Panizzato, prior of Barletta.

² *Martyrologie* (Paris, 1643), Pl. IX.

³ *Delle Arme ovvero insigne dei Nobili* (Napoli, 1618) p. 220, '... il campo d'oro con le (due) fascie vermiglie couerte d'alcuni reti d'argento, con otto o noue uccelli vermigli...' I owe this reference to the kindness of Mr. A. van de Put. Picenardi and Belabre identify the arms with Chantemerle.

⁴ Rottiers, Pls. IX. XI. A. Berg, p. 36. The birds are here arranged in orle 4, 2, and 3.

⁵ Belabre, p. 47, Fig. 28. (Similar arrangement but not in orle.)

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 147, Fig. 147. The birds are here placed 3, 3, and 3 with a chief of the order.

⁷ N. de Martoni (1395) in *Rev. Or. Lat.* iii. 682; Bosio, ii. 102; Belabre, 146.

⁸ Chateaubriand, *Itinéraire*, 211; Rottiers, Pl. XX.; Picenardi, 155; Belabre, p. 163, Fig. 165: the birds are here in orle, 4, 2, and 3. The modern inscription may replace a chief of the order.

⁹ Bosio, ii. 102 (1392). D'Allemagna's career is thus: Commander of Naples, 1386; held Nisyros for the Order, 1386-92 (Bosio, ii. 196, 102-3, cf. Martoni, 642); Admiral, 1392-8 (Bosio, ii. 128); Lieutenant for the Grand Master (Bosio, ii. 122); Commander of Naples, S. Stefano, Avignon, Nocera, and Fineca, 1407; died Bailly of Lango, 1410 (Bosio, 128-31).

(5) The Provençal family of Des Baux, several members of which joined the Order, bore *gu.*, a star of sixteen rays *arg.*¹ But the wheel of S. Catharine may have been intended here as in the lost block described by Mas-Latrie.

(3) Though in No. 2 these arms are ensigned with the tiara and should be those of a pope (presumably Clement VI. of Avignon who actively assisted the building) they agree with no pope's arms between 1344 and 1404 as given by Ciacconi.

F. W. HASLUCK.

¹ Campanile, *loc. cit.* p. 143.

DEPOPULATION IN THE AEGEAN ISLANDS AND THE TURKISH CONQUEST.

§ 1.—THE *ISOLARIO* OF ANTONIO DI MILLO.

ANTONIO DI MILLO is the author of an *Isolario* of which several copies have come down to us. Of these, two dated respectively (A) 1587 and (B) 1591 are preserved in the British Museum¹ and a third (C) of 1590 in the Marciana at Venice.² Two other copies, cited by Uzielli as existing at the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale,³ and the Biblioteca Municipale at Venice,⁴ seem to be no longer known at the libraries in question.

The greater part of the text of the work consists of practical directions for navigators and traders, including generally a note on the population, and occasionally on the staple products of the island under discussion. The rare notes on local history are, as will be seen, of some value. The text of the three copies shews considerable variations, many notes being peculiar to each. The B.M. (A) and Marciana copies seem to be autograph: in the B.M. (B) this is true only of the maps.

The author is mentioned as Antonius Meliensis by Leunclavius, who met him acting as pilot on a ship returning from Constantinople in 1585:⁵ this shows that he was actively engaged in his profession shortly before the

¹ *Julius*, E. ii. and *Add.* 10,365 respectively: see *B.S.A.* xiii. 199, xiv. 340 f.

² *Cod. Ital.* iv. 2; Frati, *Catal.* ii. 4, where also bibliography: see further *Délos*, *Cartographie*, p. 17.

³ G. Uzielli, *Mappa Mundi*, *Carte Nautiche*, *Portolani*, 2 ed. 1882, No. 369.

⁴ *Ibid.* No. 374. There are also by the same author (1) an *Arte del Navicar*, 1590 (Marciana, *MS. cit.*), 1591 (B.M. *Add.* 10,365); (2) an *Atlante* of 1584 (Rome, *Bibl. Vitt. Emm.*); and (3) a *Mappa Mundi* of 1582 (B.M. *Add.* 27,470) in colours, from which we reproduce the Aegean section (Fig. 1).

⁵ *Lib. Sing.* § 24. His *periplus* of the coast from Constantinople to the Dardanelles is given *ibid.* § 86.

first compilation of his *Isolario* and the note in (C) on Patmos shews that he was quite up to date in 1590. Millo is said by Leunclavius to have been a native of Melos and Greek by parentage. Melians had an established reputation as skilful and experienced pilots for several centuries,¹ and our author describes himself in (A) as *armiralgio di Candia* (del



FIG. I.—LEVANT SECTION OF *Mappa Mundi* BY ANTONIO DI MILLO (1582). (ADD. MS. 27,470.)

Zante in (C)), i.e. a permanent pilot with some petty officer's functions in the Venetian service.² He would thus be in a good position to

¹ Cf. J. Struys, *Voyage* (London, 1684), p. 11; Tournefort's descriptions of Melos and Ios; W. Turner, *Tour*, i. 30; Leake, *N. Greece*, iii. 78. The celebrated pirate Capsi was a Melian pilot (Sauger, *Hist. des Ducs*, 319).

² Cf. C. Cippico (in Sathas, *Mon. Hist. Hell.* vii. 26): 'l'ufficio di questo e di guidar l'armata, render ragione a' marinari e gastigarli per delitti leggieri.' The MS. (B) was a presentation copy to Millo's patron, Zuane Bembo, and bears his arms. The *Mappa Mundi* has: party per pale, to dexter, or, three bendlets az.; to sinister, az. three stars, two and one, or; a chief of the Empire.

As to the identity of the writer, it is possible that he was the Lupazzolo who is mentioned as Venetian Consul at Smyrna by Chardin in 1670,¹ Spon in 1676,² de Burgo in 1680,³ Benetti in 1684,⁴ and Tournefort in 1702:⁵ the latter states that the consul was then a very venerable old man 118 years old. The Latin archivist of Chios, M. Pierre Agius, tells me that the name occurs in the unusually complete registers of the Latin community there.

Lupazzolo in his turn supplied material for others. His original descriptions, though less detailed, are closely connected with Thévenot's accounts of the same islands, for which the latter admits that he drew, for lack of personal knowledge, mainly on a manuscript source, the author of which was an old resident in Chios.⁶ We can trace the connection between Thévenot and Lupazzolo's *Isolario* in the descriptions of Andros,⁷ the villages of Chios, Patmos(?), Paros,⁸ Delos, Mykonos, Santorini,⁹ Pholegandros, Melos, Kimolos,¹⁰ Siphnos, and Kythnos, nearly all islands where the Roman Church had interests. It can hardly be doubted that Thévenot's source was the lost *Relattione* of Lupazzolo, and that his descriptions can be regarded as reliable information on the state of these islands in 1638.¹¹

From the two quotations in *Scio Sacra* it appears that the *Relatione* was more detailed than the *Isolario*, and we should assume that the official visit only included such islands as had Latin communities. Now the form of the *Isolario* is obviously based on Bordone, who is cited. The descriptions of the islands, except those which had Latin communities and a few adjacent to Chios, are as a rule merely copied from Bordone, and the latitude and longest day of each is generally added as in the latter.¹²

¹ *Voyage* (Paris, 1723), I. 16.

² *Voyage* (Amst. 1679), i. 234.

³ *Viaggio*, i. 452.

⁴ *Osservazioni*, iv. 43.

⁵ *Voyage*, Letter X. As Lupazzolo is both *da Monferrato* and *Chiensis*, he probably founded the family at Chios, removing to Smyrna as the trade shifted.

⁶ Chapters lxiii, lxv.

⁷ Not Zea, where Thévenot landed.

⁸ There are discrepancies between the two accounts, but Thévenot's mention of English antiquity-hunters on Paros evidently refers (as in the case of Delos) to William Petty, who was collecting for the Duke of Buckingham in 1624-6 (Roe's *Negotiations* and Michaelis, *Anct. Marbles*).

⁹ With additions.

¹⁰ A sack of Kimolos by pirates in 1638, mentioned by Thévenot but not in the *Isolario*, betrays its source by the date.

¹¹ Uzielli, who had access to the library of the Propaganda, knows nothing of the *Relatione*, nor does a copy appear to exist in Chios itself.

¹² The islands so treated are Karpathos, Rhodes, Kos, Telos, Skiathos, Thasos, and Skyros.

The *Isolario* of Lupazzolo is therefore a composite work based partly on his own travels and partly on Bordone.



FIG. 3.—LUPAZZOLO'S VIEW OF SMYRNA (c. 1638).

Further, the illustrations, with the exception of the maps, which are Bordone's with some additions, *e.g.* in the case of Chios¹ and Santorini,²

¹ Reproduced *B.S.A.* xiii. 201.

² Reproduced (Fig. 2): it resembles that of the 'Smyrna Atlas' (*Thera*, i. 7), which may be a later version (after 1655) made by or for the author.

are derived from another source or sources. Two of them, the 'Historical Column' with the Turkish figures standing by it, and the Column of Pompey, can be traced to George Sandys' *Travels* (1612 etc.);¹ the rest may be from the same source but, the hand being Lupazzolo's, style is no evidence. The view of Smyrna, probably the earliest known and archæologically interesting as shewing the theatre, is here reproduced (Fig. 3).

The importance of these two *Isolarii* lies in the fact that they contain first-hand accounts of the islands in a little-known and interesting period of their history, viz. the years following the complete subjugation of the Archipelago by the Turks and preceding the Cretan War. The state of the islands as depicted in them compares very favourably with the earlier accounts of Buondelmonti (1420), Bartolommeo (1485), and Bordone (1528), and this in spite of the subsequent depredations of Barbarossa, who in his two campaigns (1537-8) is said to have carried off nearly 20,000 slaves from seven Venetian islands.² We shall see that the years about 1570 were responsible for a decided increase in the population of most islands.

§ 3.—SURVEY OF THE PROSPERITY OF INDIVIDUAL ISLANDS.

We will now review the condition of the islands one by one, checking Millo's account with others of similar date.

A. **The Thracian islands** were taken by the Turks in 1456.³ At the conquest many inhabitants were enslaved or turned Turk.⁴

AĪSTRATI (ἡ Ἄγιος Εὐστράτιος = Halonnesos) was laid waste by the Turks in 1400,⁵ and was uninhabited in 1420 (Buondelmonti). An inscription in a church records a repopulation in 1540,⁶ and Zygomalas says it was inhabited in 1577.⁷

¹ Another of Sandys' series (Seraglio Point) is to be found in Covel's folio MS. (*Add.* 22,912, f. 125), which appears from the text (f. 76) to be the work of 'an Englishman in Sir Paul Pindar's time,' possibly therefore Sandys himself.

² Aegina, Paros, Kythnos, Zea, Anaphe, Seriphos, Skiathos, Karpathos. The best account of the campaigns of Barbarossa is Miller's *Latins*, 624 ff.

³ Lemnos finally in 1479; the chronology is given in the preface of *I. G. Insularum*, xiii. 8.

⁴ Bosio, ii. 195.

⁵ Fredrich in *Ath. Mitt.* xxxi. 250, cf. Buondelmonti.

⁶ Preface to *I. G. Ins.* and Fredrich, *Halonnesus*. Bordone, possibly erroneously, speaks of a small population.

⁷ *Itinerarium*, ed. Legrand, 192: Z. is a particularly good authority, having held the office of

IMBROS evidently felt the conquest severely. In 1437 it boasted a town, five castles, and twenty villages.¹ At the conquest it received a Turkish garrison² and was still well peopled in 1485.³ In 1577 there were only five hundred Christian houses,⁴ and the population was scanty still in Millo's time. This, as will be seen, is an almost unique instance of retrogression.

LEMNOS had in 1437 two towns, six castles, and a hundred villages.⁵ There was a general exodus to Chios, Euboea, and Crete at the conquest.⁶ Belon, in the middle of the sixteenth century, found Lemnos in a prosperous state with seventy-five villages.⁷ It paid 5,000 ducats tribute in 1577,⁸ and remained well-to-do till the Cretan war, when it was ruined by the cutting down of trees during a Venetian occupation.

SAMOTHRACE and *THASOS* were well (*benissimo*) populated in Bordone's time, in spite of the fact that Mohammed II. settled inhabitants of both islands at Constantinople after the conquest⁹: the population of Samothrace had diminished by the end of the century.¹⁰

The Northern Sporades.

DROMI was sparsely inhabited '*da pouera gente*' (Millo): it belongs to the class of small islands which are inhabited only in settled periods. In 1538 it seems to have been deserted.¹¹

LIMNO-PELAGISI is described as uninhabited by Millo: in Lupazzolo's time it was occupied by fifteen shepherds from Syra.

SKIATHOS was plundered by Barbarossa in 1538, who took 3,800 prisoners.¹² It was afterwards completely abandoned,¹³ but in Millo's time had again a scanty population.

logothetes at the Patriarchate, in which capacity he sometimes collected ecclesiastical dues in person. The statements of Carlier de Pinon (*Rev. Or. Lat.* xii. (1909) 174) and Breuning (*Orient. Reyss.* 40) that Aistrati was deserted in 1579 must probably be discounted, and in general, it will be seen, these authors are not trustworthy.

¹ Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων, vii. 363; apparently from an ecclesiastical source.

² Van Ghistele, *Tvoyage* (1485), 348; Millo, (A) *doi castelli abittati da Turchi*.

³ Van Ghistele, *loc. cit.* ⁴ Zygomalas, *loc. cit.*

⁵ Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων, vii. 363. ⁶ Critobulus, i. 75.

⁷ *Observations*, xxv. ⁸ Gerlach, *Tagebuch*, 403.

⁹ Critobulus, iii. 87. ¹⁰ Millo.

¹¹ St. Blancard in Charrière, *Nég. de la France*, i. 373.

¹² Hadji Khalfa (*Or. Trans. Fund*), 59: 4,000 in Cornaro's *Hist. Cand.* B.M. Add. 8,637, f. 98.

¹³ St. Blancard, *loc. cit.*

SKOPELOS was also completely abandoned in 1538.¹ According to a later account (1706) of the island it was settled 'about two hundred years ago' by the chief cook of the Grand Signior.² But the island seems to have been inhabited in 1577,³ certainly in Millo's time, who mentions Albanians there,⁴ so that the colonization probably fell within the usual period.

SKYROS was in a bad state before the invasion of Barbarossa (1538) owing to Venetian misgovernment, and two hundred inhabitants had migrated to the Turkish mainland.⁵ It escaped lightly from Barbarossa with a tribute of 2,000 ducats,⁶ and in Millo's time had a considerable population (*benissimo abitata*). Zygomalas in 1577 assesses the population of the three islands, Skiathos, Skopelos, and Skyros, at 2,000 families, shewing that they had to a great extent recovered.⁷

The Cyclades.

The state of the Cyclades as a whole at the end of the Frankish period is comparatively well known from Venetian and other western sources, and is fully set forth in one of the most interesting chapters of Miller's *Latins in the Levant*. They seem to have reached their lowest ebb just before the conquest. A Venetian report of 1563 goes so far as to say that of the sixteen islands belonging to the Duchy of Naxos only five (Naxos, Santorini, Melos, Syra, and Paros) were inhabited, and Melos alone was in anything like a flourishing state.⁸ Though this can hardly be taken quite literally, it is clear that in islands paying tribute as well as local dues⁹ and without garrisons or militia organizations, taxation and piracy made life all but impossible.

The next more or less complete view of the Cyclades is that of Crusius, derived from a Santoriniote informant of 1577.¹⁰ The picture is surprisingly reassuring, implying that of the minor islands Ios, Seriphos, Mykonos,

¹ *Ibid.*

² Braconnier in Aimé-Martin, *Lettres Édif. et Curieuses*, i. 81, quoted *B.S.A.* xv. 226.

³ Zygomalas. ⁴ MS. (A).

⁵ Lamansky, *Secrets de l'État de Venise*, [04].

⁶ Cornaro, *MS. cit.* f. 99.

⁷ *Loc. cit.* Porcacchi (ed. of 1572), Carlier (173), and Breuning (40) speak of Skyros as uninhabited in 1579, but Zygomalas is the better authority. Bordone speaks of a small population.

⁸ Lamansky, *Secrets*, 654. This would imply the desertion of Mykonos, (Delos), Gyaros, Kimolos, Kythnos, Seriphos, Pholegandros, Antiparos, Astypalaea, Amorgos, Anaphe.

⁹ This had been the case since Barbarossa's campaigns.

¹⁰ *Turcograecia*, 207. The definite statement of Millo about the depopulation and settlement of Ios goes far to justify the discrepancy between the accounts of 1563 and 1577.

Astypalaea, Amorgos, and Anaphe were then inhabited and roughly fortified. It is thus evident that the Turkish conquest in 1566 here caused an immediate improvement, which we shall see is true also of the islands as a whole. We turn now to the several islands of the group.

AMORGOS was well-to-do in 1485,¹ and 1528 (Bordone). At Barbarossa's coming, however, we are told that the inhabitants fled to Crete,² and from the Venetian report (1563)³ it appears to have remained desert till (at latest) 1579.⁴ Millo concurs, saying that there were in his time a population and three castles. There is thus no record of a population between 1537 and 1579. Sauger's description of the inhabitants suggests that they were (Albanian?) immigrants.⁵

ANAPHE: 600 prisoners were taken by Barbarossa in 1537,⁶ and desertion is implied in 1563; Crusius first mentions a population, in which he is followed by Millo.

ANDROS suffered from at least two serious attacks by the Turks, in 1468 and 1470.⁷ Bordone describes it as *quasi deserta* in 1528. It was put to tribute by Barbarossa,⁸ and there is evidence of Albanian colonization. Zygomalas⁹ assesses the population at 2000 families in 1577, Millo states merely that the island was inhabited; Lupazzolo first mentions the existing Albanian villages among sixty others.¹⁰

ANTIPAROS was deserted after Barbarossa's raid,¹¹ and was in Millo's time uninhabited. It seems to have been settled from Paros, as the dialect of the two islands is identical.¹²

CEOS (see *ZEA*).

IOS (Nio) had been deserted between 1558, when the entire population was carried off by corsairs, and 1575, when it was settled by poor Albanians.¹³ The population numbered three hundred in 1638.¹⁴

¹ Van Ghistele, 352, cf. de Caumont (1418) and Buondelmonti. Guylforde (60) says it was deserted in 1506.

² Cornaro, *Hist. Cand. B.M. Add.* 8,637, f. 95.

³ Above, p. 158. ⁴ Crusius.

⁵ *Hist. des ducs*, p. 199. ⁶ Cornaro, *loc. cit.* f. 95. u.

⁷ Stefano Magno in Hopf, *Chron. G.-R.* 205, 207.

⁸ Cornaro, *MS. cit.* f. 100; Miller, 624.

⁹ p. 190: the Venetians carried off 300 slaves in 1570 (Paruta, *Guerra di Cipro*, 46).

¹⁰ For the Albanian colonies see *B.S.A.* xv. 223.

¹¹ Millo (B). ¹² From Mr. A. J. B. Wace.

¹³ Millo: cf. *B.S.A.* xv. 225. ¹⁴ Lupazzolo.

KIMOLOS (Argentiera): Carlier (a bad source) says the island was uninhabited in 1579.¹ The date 1592 occurs on a church,² and Shirley in 1603 describes it as sparsely inhabited.³ The castle was burnt by pirates in 1638,⁴ and re-erected in 1648,⁵ the building being traditionally ascribed to Siphnian fugitives.⁶ The proximity of Melos, which was continuously inhabited and relatively prosperous, makes it a natural refuge for the Kimolians, and the depopulation of Kimolos may probably be regarded as temporary.

KYTHNOS (Thermia) is described by Millo as abandoned *per molto tempo* (i.e. since Barbarossa ?)⁷ and recently colonized by Albanians. In Buondelmonti's time it had been raided and resettled, but van Ghistele (1485) describes it as uninhabited;⁸ on the other hand, Bordone says it was well populated in 1528. Thevet concurs with Millo that it had a population about 1585.⁹ There is a local tradition of a period of desolation,¹⁰ which we may probably assign to the years 1538-72 on the analogy of other islands. Lupazzolo assesses the population at 2,200.

MELOS, with its fine harbour and seafaring population, retained its prosperity till the eighteenth century in spite of Turkish raids.¹¹ Lupazzolo assesses the population in 1638 at 2,500.

MYKONOS, described by Bordone as 'formerly well inhabited,' appears to have been ruined by Barbarossa; some few of the inhabitants fled to Tenos at his coming, but most were taken.¹² In Millo's time it was but sparsely inhabited; the prosperity of the island dates from the Cretan war, when it flourished and grew rich as a pirates' port.¹³

NAXOS, 'quasi deserta' in Bordone, is inhabited in Millo, Lupazzolo giving 6,700 (700 Latins) as the population in 1638.

¹ *Rev. Or. Lat.* xii. 166.

² Meliarakes, *Κίωλος*, 24.

³ *B.S.A.* xiii. 346.

⁴ Thévenot, i. 343: the source is probably Lupazzolo's *Relatione*, to which may be referred the population (200) given by Thévenot.

⁵ It is dated by an inscription, Meliarakes, *loc. cit.*

⁶ Sonnini, ii. 25.

⁷ Cf. Cornaro, *MS. cit.* f. 94.

⁸ *Travoyage*, 352.

⁹ *Insulaire*, f. 126.

¹⁰ Ballendas, *Ἰστ. Κύθνου*, 61.

¹¹ Raids are mentioned in 1470 (U. Bruenner, in *Z. D. Palästina Vereins*, 1906, 49); 1503 (*Rel. di A. Gritti* in Alberi, i. 14), when the *borgo* was plundered and 160 slaves carried off by Caradromi; 1506 when the *borgo* was sacked by Kamal (Sir R. Guylforde, p. 62).

¹² Cornaro, *MS. cit.* f. 94 v. (1537); the remnant of the population was carried off next year (Miller, *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xxii. 305).

¹³ Cf. Randolph, *Archipelago*, 14.

PAROS, though belonging to the duchy of Naxos, resisted Barbarossa in 1537, and 6,000 prisoners were taken.¹ Millo describes it as well inhabited, and the subsequent population-statistics—8,000 in Lupazzolo, 15,000 in Carayon²—shew that it had recovered. This is probably due to colonization; the theory is borne out by language, as the Parians, alone of the Cycladic populations, speak a North Greek dialect.³

PHOLEGANDROS was uninhabited in Buondelmonti's time. Lupazzolo says it was *per il tempo passato disabitata*,⁴ implying that there was a population in 1638. It seems to be the island attacked unsuccessfully by Sir Thomas Shirley in 1603.⁵ A MS. source, not contemporary, affirms that it was colonized by Siphnians and Cretans in 1577.⁶

SANTORINI suffered severely from earthquakes and pirates in the fifteenth century, the population dropping⁷ in 1470 to 300.⁸ In 1479 upwards of forty destitute families took refuge in Crete,⁹ and in 1521 a German pilgrim speaks of it as so ravaged by Turks as to be deserted.¹⁰ Crusius represents it as recovered in 1579.¹¹ For the earthquakes 1457–1637, see the *Appendix* below.

SERIPHOS, uninhabited in 1418,¹² was sparsely peopled in 1528,¹³ but Barbarossa carried off about 1,000 captives in 1537.¹⁴ It was but a poor place in Millo's time.

For *SIKINOS* records are deficient. In 1418 (de Caumont) and 1420 it was desert, and Carlier says the same of it in 1579; Bordone that it was 'formerly well inhabited.' It is not in Crusius' list.

¹ Cornaro, *MS. cit.* f. 93. ² *Relations Inédites*, 126.

³ I owe this information to Mr. A. J. B. Wace.

⁴ So Carlier, 166.

⁵ *B.S.A.* xv. 345. Cf. the account of the attack on the (unnamed) island in Nixon's pamphlet and the description of Pholegandros in Thevet and Tournefort.

⁶ Δελτίον τῆς Ἰστ. Ἑταιρείας, ii. 516.

⁷ De Caumont describes it as populous in 1418.

⁸ Hopf, *V.-B. Anal.* 41, quoting Rizzardo, *Presa di Negroponte*, 24.

⁹ Noiret, *Documents*, 545:—*familie xl circiter ex illis que ab insula Sta Herinis discesserunt extrema calamitate et miseria.*

¹⁰ Röhrich and Meissner, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen*, 369.

¹¹ A castle and villages, *Turcograecia*, 207. The castle of S. Nicolas was taken by Barbary pirates in 1577 and the inhabitants carried off (*ibid.*).

¹² De Caumont. ¹³ Bordone.

¹⁴ Cornaro, *MS. cit.* f. 100; but cf. Hadji Khalfa and Hammer-Hellert, vi. 295.

SIPHNOS. Notices of this island are conflicting. The pilgrim Tschudy says it was inhabited in 1519,¹ Bordone *molto male habitata* in 1528. It paid a tribute of 300 ducats to Barbarossa in 1538; Millo (A) describes it as *habbittatta con bonissima fortteza*,² while Shirley (1603)³ and Lithgow (1609)⁴ concur in calling it uninhabited. Lupazzolo gives it a meagre population of 300, yet it was made an archbishopric in 1648.⁵

SYRA seems to have been inhabited throughout, though it was sacked and 300 prisoners taken in 1616⁶ probably in revenge for a real or imaginary Latin intrigue. Lupazzolo gives its population (all Latins) at 3,000.

TENOS (*benissimo habitata*, M.) remained Venetian till 1714 and was continuously prosperous⁷ though frequently harassed by the Turks.⁸ Zygomalas reckons the population (probably excluding Latins) at 2,000 families.⁹ In Lupazzolo's time the inhabitants were driven to emigrate owing to overpopulation.

ZEA was attacked by Barbarossa in 1537 and 2,000 prisoners taken.¹⁰ It seems to have been colonized by Albanians in the 16th century,¹¹ and was certainly inhabited as early as 1577.¹²

Islands of Greek Coast.

ÆGINA was devastated by Barbarossa in 1537, who carried off 5,000 prisoners.¹³ St. Blancard next year found it deserted.¹⁴ Carlier¹⁵ and Breuning¹⁶ found it well inhabited in 1579, and it is represented as inhabited by Thevet.¹⁷ The population is partly Albanian.¹⁸

¹ *Reyss*, p. 76.

² Crusius also speaks of 'a castle and villages,' *Turcograecia*, 209.

³ *B.S.A.* xiii. 346.

⁴ *Adventures*, 84.

⁵ Gedeon, *Χρον. τοῦ Πατρ. Οἴκου*, 159. This may have been a counter-stroke to some Latin intrigue.

⁶ Carayon, 134; cf. Lupazzolo, f. 70, Lequien, iii. 866.

⁷ Cf. Miller, *Latins*, 630; it had 9,000 inhabitants in 1563.

⁸ E.g. in 1538 (Cornaro, *MS. cit.* f. 99), 1570 and 1572 (Tournefort, cf. Paruta, *Guerra di Cipro*, 49).

⁹ p. 191.

¹⁰ Cornaro, *MS. cit.* f. 94 (2,000 from Thermia and Zea): Hadji Khalfa (Eng. tr. p. 58) says 1,200.

¹¹ *B.S.A.* xv. 226.

¹² Zygomalas, 191 (Τζιδ, as in *Act. et Diplom.* vi. 227).

¹³ Cornaro, *MS. cit.* f. 92 v.; Sagredo, 355; Paruta, 437; Miller, *Latins*, 507.

¹⁴ Charrière, *Nég. de la France*, i. 372.

¹⁵ p. 169 (*assez grand nombre d'habitans*).

¹⁶ p. 36.

¹⁷ *Insulaire*.

¹⁸ Finlay, *Hist. of Greece*, v. 69, vi. 28

CERIGOTTO, settled by the Venetians for a few years in the fifteenth century, seems to have been abandoned throughout our period.

HYDRA is said locally to have been settled first in 1580.¹

SPETSA: the first mention of the island seems to be in Thevet's *Insulaire* (1586)²: all previous *Isolarii* ignore both islands, which are purely Albanian.

The Southern Sporades.

Of the Southern Sporades the six Rhodian islands—Kos, Kalymnos, Chalke, Leros, Nisyros, Telos—were taken over after the fall of Rhodes, in some cases slightly earlier,³ by the Turks. Astypalaea, which belonged to the Quirini,⁴ and Karpathos, a possession of the Cornari,⁵ were taken by Barbarossa. Down to the fall of Rhodes the outlying islands had suffered much from Turkish and other pirates. The year 1457 was especially disastrous: a note in a Patmian MS. tells us that in this year Turkish incursions completely desolated many islands (*ὥστε ἐρημωθῆναι τέλεον πολλὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν*), there was plague in Rhodes, Crete and Kos (1500 deaths in the latter),⁶ Nisyros and Kalymnos were completely blotted out (*παντελῶς ἐφανίσθησαν*) by pirates,⁷ and the castles of Neranzia and Peripatos in Kos burnt by the Turkish fleet.⁸

Later, in 1460, Kos, Leros, and Kalymnos were again sacked,⁹ and in the following year it was proposed to abandon the two former islands.¹⁰ Kos was ravaged again in 1464,¹¹ and in 1471 many inhabitants of Nisyros and Kos sought refuge in Rhodes.¹² Telos was besieged in 1479,¹³ Telos and Syme in 1485,¹⁴ and Leros in 1502 and 1506.¹⁵

After the conquest the lesser islands (*i.e.* all but Rhodes and Kos,

¹ Miaoules, *Ἰστ.* "Υδρας, 36: cf. Thevet, *Insulaire*, f. 98. ² f. 169.

³ Cf. Fontana, *de Bell. Rhod.* ii.; *de Oppug. Rhod.* 158 (Telos and Chalke): see also Syme.

⁴ Hopf, *V.-B. Anal.* pp. 97 ff.

⁵ Cornaro (*MS. cit.* f. 119).

⁶ Plague has always been a frequent visitor in these islands on account of the connection with Egypt.

⁷ Bosio adds Leros to the list of ravaged islands, and mentions an attack on Syme in the same year (ii. 195-6).

⁸ *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*, vii. 162 (135). This seems to be the date when depopulation set in all over the islands.

⁹ Bosio, ii. 210.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 213.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 226.

¹² *Ibid.* 258.

¹³ *Ibid.* 319.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 399.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 484, 487. In spite of this devastation all the six islands seem to have retained their population: cf. F. Suriano, *Trattato di Terra Sancta*, 244, 246.

which were garrisoned) were granted special privileges and a large measure of self-government, their revenues being affected to Suleiman's foundations in Rhodes. The oldest *firman* mentioning the *twelve* islands which has come down to us is of Osman III. (1755),¹ but it may be regarded as certain that the beginnings of the arrangement date from Suleiman.

ASTYPALAEA is described by Millo as inhabited *da pouera gente* and by Lupazzolo as *mediocramente habitata*. The island appears to have been twice abandoned, once in the fourteenth century (about 1340), being recolonized by J. Quirini in 1413 from Tenos and Mykonos,² and again during the usual depopulation period. It is described by a pilgrim of 1473 as nearly deserted on account of Turkish raids,³ and the remaining population fled to Crete at the advent of Barbarossa.⁴ Its desolation is implied by the Venetian report of 1563, while Crusius says it had a castle and villages in 1577. From this and the patriarchal document of Samos we may infer that it was colonized about 1570, which supports Ross's idea of an Albanian population.⁵

CHALKE (S. Nicolo di Carchi), a small and unimportant island, is described by Millo as sparsely inhabited (see also *Telos*).

KALYMNOS is represented as having a scanty population by Belon⁶ and Millo: with that of Leros it numbered 2,000 families in 1577.⁷

KARPATHOS. Population is recorded in 1485⁸; it was still scanty in Millo's time. The island had suffered meanwhile from Barbarossa.

KASOS belonged, with Karpathos, to the Cornari⁹ and fell with it to Barbarossa in 1538: it is presumably the 'one inhabited islet' mentioned by Rivira.¹⁰ Millo mentions no population, and travellers of 1562,¹¹ 1579,¹²

¹ Chaviaràs in *Δελτίον*, vi. (1901), 321 ff. The islands here mentioned as included in the *wakf* are Kalymnos, Chalke, Leros, Nisyros, Syme, and Telos, with parts of Rhodes. According to Helle von Samo (*Das Vilayet der Inseln*) eleven islands (Ikaria, Patmos, Kalymnos, Castellorizo, Nisyros, Syme, Telos, Astypalaea, Karpathos, Kasos, and Chalke) had their autonomy in virtue of *firmans* dating from 1645, ratified at various dates down to 1860, and only suppressed in 1872. The non-Rhodian islands were probably included about 1570.

² Miller, *Latins in the Levant*, 600.

³ L. Conrady, *Vier Rheinische Pilgerfahrten*, 172. Cf. Hopf, *V.-B. Anal.* 129.

⁴ Miller, *loc. cit.* 624. Hopf, *Gesch. Andros*, 125.

⁵ *Inselreise*, ii. 59.

⁶ *Observations*, II. xi. ⁷ Zygomalas, 190.

⁸ Lengerrand, *Voyage* (Mons, 1861), 102. ⁹ Hopf, *V.-B. Anal.* 116.

¹⁰ *Viaze* [1518-20], 154: *Hazense tres escollos, y el uno es poblado*.

¹¹ Feyerabend, *Reyssbuch*, 404. ¹² Carlier, 167.

and 1599,¹ speak of it as desert. Randolph² appears to ascribe to it a *firman* of Suleiman II, implying that it was inhabited before 1566, but this is probably a mistake for the Rhodian group into which Kasos seems to have been adopted.

KOS (Lango), though fertile, seems to have been in a far from flourishing state.³ Being garrisoned it was the objective of repeated Turkish attacks under the Knights, and, after their departure, of Christian raids in 1609,⁴ and 1612.⁵ There were violent earthquakes with great loss of life at the end of the fifteenth century,⁶ and a good deal of plague (1,500 deaths in 1457).

LEROS appears to have been garrisoned during this period⁷ and to have had a small population⁸ (see *Kalymnos*).

NISYROS had suffered in 1457 (see above p. 163): it does not appear to have remained deserted long, since we hear of a population in 1485⁹ and in Millo's time.

RHODES (*benissimo habitata*, M.). At the taking of the island by Suleiman II. (1 Jan. 1523), 500 of the Greek inhabitants are said to have evacuated the island with the Knights.¹⁰ Many more subsequently fled to Italy and Crete, the migration being only restrained by the granting of special privileges.¹¹ The Greek population, however, numbered about 15,000 in 1577.¹²

SYME was a station of the invading fleet before it proceeded to

¹ Dallam, 27

² *Archipelago*, 30: *These islanders have obtained a great favour from the Port by means of a Favourite of Solyman the Magnificent, who obtained a command that none of the tribute-masters should molest them, they shewing a discharge for 1,000 dollars yearly to be paid at Constantinople for all taxes.*

³ *Habitata da pouera gente* (Millo): Sandys gives probably too gloomy a picture; but cf. Belon, who says the population was Turkish except two villages.

⁴ By a Maltese and Neapolitan fleet (Veriot, iv. 128). Knolles (904) gives 1610, but the expedition is probably the same.

⁵ By the Knights of S. Stephen, who burnt the castle and carried off 1,200 prisoners (Knolles, 908; cf. Stochove, 218, van Egmont, i. 263).

⁶ In 1491 (5,000 victims), Tarcagnota, *Hist. del Mondo*, iv. 318; 1493, Bosio, ii. 419; 1494 (*halb versunken inn das Meer*), Heinrich der Fromme in *Z.D.P.V.* 1900. 7. The allusions are probably to a single earthquake. The earthquake or earthquakes seem to have affected the climate (Breuning, 107, and Porcacchi; cf. the state of Melos after 1707, Choiseul-Gouffier, i. 10).

⁷ Belon, II. xi. ⁸ *Habitata da pouera gente*, Millo.

⁹ Lengerrand, 102.

¹⁰ Biliotti, 340.

¹¹ Randolph, 16.

¹² Zygomalas, 190.

Rhodes.¹ The inhabitants are said by local tradition to have surrendered voluntarily and to have been rewarded by Suleiman with substantial privileges.² Stochove speaks of the island as well populated.³

TELOS. Both Telos and Chalke are said by Fontana to have been taken before Rhodes,⁴ the former being laid desert.⁵ The population was scanty still in Millo's time.

CASTELLORIZO. Little is known of the island during this period.⁶ Stochove represents it at the beginning of the seventeenth century as a prosperous place trading with Italy in cotton and wood,⁷ the former presumably Egyptian (the island having been at all times in touch with Egypt) and the latter Caramanian.

PATMOS. Of this island Millo gives in (C) a most favourable account: it is 'ben abitata da molta gente et tuti marinari . . . ano infiniti uaseli quali nauichano per beneficio del monasterio <qui nauichano> et anno molti uaseli li partichulari ano tolto dal Capitan basa la isula di Samo et la isula di Zea et altri lochi.'⁸

The circumstances of the island are fairly well known from other sources, especially the monastic documents.⁹ Its religious associations and

¹ 17-24 June; *Mém. de l'Acad.* xxxvi. 734, quoting Bosio and Bourbon. Thevet (*Insulaire*, f. 147) was informed by Rhodian Greeks that the castle of Syme was destroyed before the fall of Rhodes.

² Stochove, 220; van Egmont, 276; Turner, iii. 23; Gregoropoulos, Σύμη, 24; Chaviaras, *loc. cit.* Syme appears to have been in the hands of the local militia, the Knights being responsible for the fortifications; cf. two curious passages: (a) from W. Wey (*Itinerary* of 1462, p. 94): 'Semys ibi est dux et venit ad Rhodys cum suis nudis tibiis (?) et multos capit de Turcis et bene custodit illam insulam: quod si contingit illum ducem esse vecordem et nolentem ire contra Turcos ipsum occidunt et alium in loco eius eligunt'; and (b) Casola (*Pilgrimage*, 1494, p. 208, the authority being the Bailly of Lango): 'Each of the said islands used to be governed by one who was called king, but a few days before the Rhodians had put an end to the name of king.'

³ p. 220.

⁴ *De Bello Rhodio*, ii.

⁵ *De Oppug. Rhodi*, 158. 'Omni habitantium numero ferro et flammis absumpta.'

⁶ Of its former history we know that it was Rhodian as early as 1396, when there were 65 Greek families there (Anon. in *L'Austrasie* (1838), 233; cf. d'Anglure, p. 89). It passed from Rhodes to Naples in 1451 (Bosio, ii. 180), and was occupied by the Turks in the siege of 1480, the inhabitants fleeing to Rhodes, Candia, and Naples (*Voy. de la Saynet Cité*, ed. Schefer, p. 112). But it would hardly remain unpeopled.

⁷ p. 220; cf. Dapper, 165, and Des Hayes, 358.

⁸ f. 95: the last statement seems to be an exaggeration; Samos never belonged to the Capitan Pasha, being a *wakf* of Kildij Ali's mosque (see below). But the monastery held extensive lands in Samos since the death of Sarakines (1590), and in Zea the monastery of H. Panteleëmon; cf., however, *Acta et Diplomata*, vi. 227 (1626), where this monastery is claimed by the Patriarch.

⁹ *Acta et Diplomata Graeca*, vi. App. 1.

the ancient connection with the Knights of Rhodes¹ secured it continuous friendly relations with western Europe, but probably on account of these relations it became suspect to the Turks, who oppressed it fiscally.²

The monastery, which had probably lost extensive property on the mainland, put money into shipping and traded direct with the West, the ships flying the flag of Malta and being protected by the Grand Master in pursuance of the policy of his Rhodian predecessors.³ The relations of the monastery with Rome (especially with Gregory XIII.)⁴ facilitated the commercial relations with Ancona noticed by Stochove⁵ and Des Hayes,⁶ and its connection with Venice (especially the government of Crete, where the monastery had property⁷) was still more important as affording the islanders commercial facilities there⁸ and probably consideration on the high seas. The monastery had also papers from the King of France and the Duke of Tuscany, the latter evidently to protect it from the Knights of S. Stephen.⁹ In spite, therefore, of the differences of religion, Patmos occupied a privileged position, comparable to that of Delos in ancient times.¹⁰

IKARIA is described by Millo and Lupazzolo as thinly inhabited, Millo (C) adds that of three castles in the island only one was now occupied. Lupazzolo gives a better account of the island than any contemporary :—

f. 66 *Non ha alcun Porto : uerso levante ha una torre altissima*
adimandata fanu sopra la quale usano con fuoco far segno accioche alcun
Nauiglio non s'acosti. Hauena prima bone habitationi e Castelli ma
 2150. *hora stantiano in qua in la per quelli rupi. | Gli habitanti sono robusti*
assai tanto huomini come donne è uestono quasi di una medesima
maniera ; uiuono assai perche si uedono uecchij di molta etta. Fanno

¹ Cf. docc. viii, ix, xi (1507-14).

² Cf. doc. vii. Patmos is said by Paruta (437) and Sagredo (355) to have been sacked by Barbarossa. It was tributary to the Turks before the fall of Rhodes.

³ Doc. xxiv (1610). The monastery itself hoisted the flag of S. John when the Maltese galleys appeared (Georgirenes, *Samos*, 81, Millo). Pirates annoyed it little (Thevet, *Cosm. Univ.* 230).

⁴ Docc. xv, xvi (1573, 1575).

⁵ *Voyage*, 214.

⁶ *Voyage*, 358.

⁷ Docc. xix (1594), xx (1596), xxx (1632).

⁸ Doc. xvii (1590); cf. Crusius, *Ann. Suev.* XII. iii. 805.

⁹ Georgirenes, *Samos*, 81.

¹⁰ The only other instance of an orthodox holy place being recognized by Catholics seems to be that of Vatopedi on Athos, which had a charter from Alfonso V. in 1456 (Langlois, 42).

uini bianchi come aqua e bonissimi che si digeriscono presto, il loro monti sono di bonissimo pascolo hauendo molte Capre. Fanno bonissimo miele ancora si come taule et altre cose con li quali uiuono, e pagano il loro tributi alli deputati di Scio e traficano con alcuni loro piccoli legni.

The island seems to have shared the fate of Samos. In Buondelmonti's time it was inhabited and ruled by the Giustiniani of Chios. When the latter removed the Samians and Psarians (c. 1475) the Nicariotes were left undisturbed, the reason given being that they suffered less from pirates, as having no good port.¹ It appears to have been a point of honour with pirates not to annoy them since they had charge of the lighthouse on the dangerous strait.²

In 1481 the islanders appealed to the Rhodian knights to remove them³ but were refused, the Rhodians having their hands sufficiently full. Bordone speaks of the island as uninhabited,⁴ but Belon mentions an export of cheeses,⁵ and Thevet,⁶ Lithgow,⁷ and Sandys,⁸ and Stochove concur in giving it a small population. The recolonization (if any) thus took place in the second half of the century: the subordination of the island to the Mufti,⁹ implying that it was a *wakf*, the well-known repugnance of the islanders to intermarriage with outsiders,¹⁰ and their pride of descent,¹¹ point to an immigration from outside the islands. Notices subsequent to the Cretan war shew an increasing population,¹² but Ikaria has never been a populous or prosperous island.

PSARA. The Psarians were deported by the Giustiniani to Chios about 1475.¹³ Millo (*B*) says that the island was resettled 'after the war,'¹⁴ evidently of Cyprus, which terminated in 1573: the MS. (*B*) gives the

¹ M. Justinian, *Hist. de Chio*, xi. 166.

² So Thevet, *Insulaire*, but cf. Belon, *Obs.* ii. 8.

³ Coronelli, *Rhodi*, 360; cf. Hopf, *V.-B. Anal.* 147: van Ghistele in 1485 speaks of it as *qualick bewoont*, p. 338.

⁴ Cf. Stella in Lonicerus, iii. 198 (1578): *Sub Teucro hactenus ut pleraque aliae incultae fuerunt Samos et Nicaria. Nunc paucis Graecorum pagis incolae incipiunt.*

⁵ *loc. cit.* ⁶ *Insulaire*.

⁷ *Adventures*, 88.

⁸ *Travailes*, 70.

⁹ W. Turner, *Tour*, iii. 406.

¹⁰ Stamatiades, *Ἰκαριακά*. There is a local tradition that the inhabitants migrated to Rumili, but it seems to be based on the equation (*Ἰκαρία* = *αἱ Καρυαὶ*) only.

¹¹ The 'porphyrogeniti' legend occurs first in Georgirenes: the village-names given by Stamatiades are distinctly N. Greek.

¹² E.g. Georgirenes, Tournefort.

¹³ J. Justinian, *loc. cit.*

¹⁴ (A) says 'uninhabited since Trojan times'; the same phrase is used of Giura in (C).

date as the spring of 1571. Thevet corroborates this account, saying that Psara, after a long period of desolation, had now a village of 700-800 houses.¹ Lupazzolo adds that the new immigrants were Albanians.²

SAMOS. The case of Samos is the most important instance of the depopulation and abandonment of an island owing to piracy, as also the best documented. The island lay directly on the coasters' route between (Egypt and) South Asia Minor and Constantinople, and at all unsettled periods in the Aegean, the Fourni, like the Spalmadori (Oenussae) and Moskonisi groups, which are similarly situated with regard to the straits of Chios and Mytilene respectively, became a recognized haunt of the pirates who preyed on this traffic. Samos was naturally their repair for wood, water, and other supplies, and their exactions became so intolerable after the middle of the fifteenth century that the Samians, who had been migrating for some time,³ consented to be removed *en masse* by the Genoese and settled in Chios.⁴

Henceforward for about a hundred years⁵ the island lay deserted, after which the Turks, finding that communications with Egypt were hampered by the piracies of the strait,⁶ settled it with new drafts of colonists from various parts of the Aegean. The story runs that the Capitan Pasha Kilidj Ali, sailing in these waters, put in under stress of weather to Tigani, noted the quality of the land and its complete abandonment, and decided to colonize it, promising his pilot, Nikolaos Sarakines of Patmos, the lands about the Heraion. A firman granting various privileges to the new settlers was granted by the Sultan and the island successfully colonized.⁷

The date of this colonization, given by Stamatiades as 1562,⁸ must really have been later, as appears from general grounds and a consensus of

¹ *Insulaire*, 162. Dufresne-Canaye (1572) mentions a population (ed. Schefer, 170), but this is contradicted by Carlier in 1579 (*Rev. Or. Lat.* xii. (1909), 173).

² Cf. *B.S.A.* xv. 227.

³ Stamatiades, *Σαμιακά*, citing Benzi, *Ann. Florent.* ii. 168.

⁴ The date is given as 1475 by J. Justinian (*Hist. de Chio*, xi. 166), 1481 by Hopf-Vlastos (*Giustiniani*, p. 76; cf. Piacenza, p. 200): Cippico represents the desolation as fairly complete in 1472 (*Mon. Hist. Hell.* vii. 274), Stamatiades (*Ἐπετηρίς τῆς Σάμου*, 1875, p. 34, 1876, p. 25, quoted by Legrand) gives 1463 or 1465, while Joos van Ghistele speaks of the island as inhabited in 1485 (*Tvoyage*, Ghent, 1572, p. 338).

⁵ Cf. the accounts of Belon (*Observations*, II. ix.), and Crusius (*Turcograecia*, 556 [1555]).

⁶ Cf. M. Heberer, *Aeg. Servitus*.

⁷ Stamatiades, *Σαμιακά* (1881), ii. ch. i.

⁸ *Loc. cit.* p. 5, based apparently on a misunderstanding of a passage in Charrière (*Nég. de la France*, ii. 726), which speaks of 'galères de la garde de Samos,' i.e. patrolling the strait.

the earliest authorities. In the first place Kilidj Ali, to whom the colony is attributed on very good grounds,¹ did not become Capitan Pasha till after Lepanto (1571).² In the second Jerome Justinian, a Chiote, dates the settlement *après la perte de Chio* (1566),³ a Patmian source of 1587 *ante decem annos*,⁴ while de Brèves⁵ and Stochove⁶ concur in assigning the foundation to the reign not of Suleiman (as Stamatiades) but to Selim II. (1566-74). This narrows the issue to the years 1571 and 1574. Kilidj Ali returned to Constantinople after Lepanto in December, 1571, with all the ships he could muster: his zeal was rewarded with the sword of honour to which he owed his nickname.⁷ He probably put in at Samos in the course of his voyage and began the colonization in the spring of 1572, the date given independently by Millo for the colonization of Psara.⁸

Nothing leads us to suppose an earlier date; the 'Tower' of Sarakines was built in 1577,⁹ and a document of 1580 (referred to in another of 1585)¹⁰ is the earliest regulation of the ecclesiastical status of the island. By this arrangement Samos came directly under the patriarchal authority, with Psara, Ikaria, and Astypalaea, rather leading us to suppose that the population of the latter had also been non-existent or negligible till about the same date.

Millo does not enlighten us further as to the date of the colonization, mentioning only the previous abandonment of the island and its settlement by Patmians—it will be remembered that the pilot Sarakines was a Patmian—apparently in his own day. From the MS. (A) we gather that there was a previous attempt to police the narrow seas, if not colonize the island. The incident being elsewhere unrecorded it is here given in full:—

(f. 47 verso.) *A questa Isolla 1558 fu mandato il Capo di Mar Cara Mustafà¹¹ per fargli sopra una forteza acio che gli corsari per esservi moltti Boschi*

¹ The village now called Myli is spoken of in early documents as χωριον τοῦ Κιλίτζ 'Αλῆ, and the island was till recently a *wakf* of his mosque at Top-Khané.

² Hammer-Hellert, vi. 432; cf. Mich. Heberer (1586), *Aegyptiaca Servitus*, p. 202.

³ *Loc. cit.*

⁴ Crusius, *Ann. Suev.* XII. iii. 805.

⁵ *Rel. des Voyages* (1605), 14.

⁶ *Voyage*, 213.

⁷ Hammer-Hellert, vi. 452.

⁸ This date is accepted by Legrand, *Deux Vies de J. Basilikos*, preface, xvii., though he puts the date of the abandonment of the island much earlier, taking the patriarchal document (mentioned below) literally.

⁹ Σαμιακά, ii. 9.

¹⁰ Σύλλογος Κ' πόλεως, x. 49-51; cf. Hypselantes, Τὰ μετὰ τὴν "Αλωσιν, s.a. 1594, p. 117.

¹¹ Kàra Mustafa was second in command to the Capitan Pasha Piale (Charrière, *Nég. de la France*, ii. 512).

ui non frabicassero (sic) uaselli di sorte alcuna¹ tutti li Schiavi Christiani che erano a ditta fabbricha amazorno esso cap^o e di due galere che seco auena costoro una seco menorno per saluarssi et lalttra abruciorno acio che con quella non fusero seguitti daj turchi ne sopra ditta isolla dopoi mai piu fu fabrichatto forteza achuna.

From later writers we know that the island was in far from a flourishing state at the turn of the century.² In 1587 it threatened to be abandoned again³ and the most favourable observer in the early years of the seventeenth century can only say that it is 'pas réputée des pires.'⁴ In 1638, however, some progress had been made, Lupazzolo accounting the island *habitata di molto popolo*.⁵

CHIOS is described by Millo as well populated. The island had paid a considerable tribute to the Turks since the beginning of the fifteenth century,⁶ and had been apprehensive of Turkish attack for the last hundred years of the Genoese colony. In 1479 a Turkish fleet ravaged the island and carried off 1,000 of the inhabitants,⁷ but it was comparatively secure against piratical raids owing to its walled villages. The conquest (1566) was bloodless, and probably did not affect the population as a whole, only the Latin minority of the capital. On the other hand, it put an end to the commercial supremacy of the port as a staple of the overland trade from Asia Minor. Europeans had hitherto preferred Chios to Smyrna, both as being a Christian port and on account of its accessibility.⁸ The conquest and subsequent troubles (especially the abortive Florentine attempt of 1599),⁹ resulting in the expulsion or impoverishment of the Latin families, had the effect of transferring foreign trade to Smyrna, whither even Chiote merchants were attracted,¹⁰ and the consulates of the Elizabethan period

¹ For building of ships by pirates on deserted islands, see Belon, *Observations*, II. ix.

² De Beauvau, 78 (*quasi deshabité*); Sandys, *Travailes*, 69; Des Hayes, *Voyage* (1621), 350.

³ Piacenza, *Aegeo Redivivo*, 200: in this year the fleet visited the island twice and two piratical attacks occurred in one week: the Samians in despair met together and proposed to abandon the island, but after discussion decided to put up with the ills they had. P.'s authority may well be a lost *Isolario* of Millo.

⁴ Des Brèves.

⁵ In spite of the Cretan war Georgirenes can enumerate eighteen villages in Samos in 1678.

⁶ Hopf-Vlastos, *Giustiniani*, p. 62. ⁷ *Ibid.* p. 77.

⁸ Cf. Coriolano Cippico's account of the sacking in 1472 of Passagio (Tcheshme), whence goods were ferried across to Chios for shipment.

⁹ For this date see *B.S.A.* xvi. 138.

¹⁰ Lupazzolo is a case in point.

established themselves.¹ The commercial supremacy of Smyrna, at one time contested by Scalauova,² at another threatened by the silt of the Hermos, is now secured by the railway system. Chios steadily declined: at the end of the seventeenth century her trade is spoken of by a Smyrna merchant as already inconsiderable,³ though till the coming of steam the port must have retained some importance as a clearing-house between Smyrna and Egypt and Syria.

MYTILENE. This rich island was taken by the Turks in 1462 and many of its inhabitants removed by force to repopulate Constantinople.⁴ A certain number of Turks were settled there on feudal tenure.⁵ More Mytileneans are said to have been removed by the Venetians in 1499,⁶ and others to have colonized the village of *Μυτιληνοί* in Samos at the invitation of Kilidj Ali.⁷ The Greek population is assessed at 30,000 by Zygomalas.⁸

TENEDOS was abandoned by agreement after the destruction of the fortress in 1383.⁹ It was re-fortified in 884 A.H. = 1478 A.D.,¹⁰ and in 1577 had a Greek population of 2,000.¹¹

§ 4.—CONCLUSIONS.

The foregoing survey shews clearly enough that the islands as a whole—indeed it is true of nearly every individual island—were better populated and more prosperous after the final establishment of the Turks than for many years previously, and that even those which had been desolated by Barbarossa's campaigns had more than recovered their former population. It is particularly significant that the smaller islands were beginning

¹ There was an English consul at Chios at the very beginning of our Levant trade and it was still commercially important in the first half of the seventeenth century (Roe, *Negotiations*, 512. Cotton. MS. *Otho*, c. ix. ; cf. Arber's *English Garner*, i. 20-23) ; the first mention of the Smyrna consulate seems to be 1611 (Epstein, *Levant Co.* 214) ; the French consulate is only a year earlier.

² Scala Nuova was on this account forbidden to Christian shipping (Cary, *Account of the Trade of Smyrna*, Add. MS. 5,489, f. 11).

³ Cary, *loc. cit.*

⁴ Critobulus, iv. 12. ⁵ Hammer-Hellert, vi. 199-200.

⁶ Vianoli, *Hist. Ven.* (1680), 662. ⁷ Georgirenes.

⁸ *Itinerarium*, ed. Legrand, 190 ; cf. Palerne's 300 villages in 1600.

⁹ Muralt, *s.a.* The inhabitants were removed to Crete and Negropont.

¹⁰ Hadji Khalfa, *s.a.* p. 18 ; cf. Piri Reis, *Rev. Or. Lat.* xii. 176.

¹¹ Zygomalas, *Itin.* 189 ; cf. Lithgow (1605), p. 108.

to be occupied, if only by a floating population of shepherds,¹ and that several islands which had been completely deserted for a hundred years became towards the end of the century fairly populous and well-to-do.

This was due to several causes. Between 1566, when the last of the islands (except Tenos) became formally Turkish, and the beginning of the Cretan war, peace with Venice was unbroken save for the campaign of Lepanto and Cyprus (1570-3), and piracy, the greatest scourge of the Archipelago, habitually flourishes unchecked under cover of war. Again, the final union of the islands under one flag, while it lessened taxation by limiting it to tribute, already paid in the Latin islands for many years, restrained to some extent the casual exploits of free-lances on either side. In particular the expulsion of the Rhodian knights—a political necessity for the Turks after their conquest of Egypt—removed a constant cause of bickering, and the knights themselves being busy with their defences in Malta and excursions against their nearer Moslem neighbours, their flag was comparatively seldom seen in Aegean waters.² It is true that after 1560 the knights of S. Stephen to some extent replaced those of S. John,³ but on the whole piracy and slave-raiding were in the hands of the Barbary corsairs⁴ and the centre of gravity of the degenerate crusade had for both sides shifted to the western Mediterranean;⁵ the coasts of the eastern basin as far as Egypt were now Turkish, and the proverbial efficiency of the fleet under the great Capitan Pashas contributed something to the general safety of these territorial waters. Petty piracy in small boats fitted out locally flourished as usual,⁶ and the Mainiotes are first heard of in this connection early in the seventeenth century.⁷

There are further to be noticed distinct traces of concerted official effort to repopulate deserted and pirate-haunted islands. As has been

¹ Lupazzolo represents Dromi, Limno-Pelagisi, Arachlia, and Giura as so inhabited.

² They however ravaged Kos in 1604 (Vertot) and were at Phocaea in 1615 (dal Pozzo, i. 265). Their other eastern exploits at this period were confined to the Morea.

³ They made attempts on Chios in 1599 and on Kos in 1609.

⁴ Thevet says that the piracy of his day was carried on chiefly by 'Turks' who preyed mainly on Christian shipping-exclusive of Venetian, which was protected by treaty (*Cosmog. Univ.* i. 227b). The two slave raids known to us in this period (see above, Ios, Santorini) were made by Barbary corsairs.

⁵ The increasing Dutch and English traffic through the straits was partly accountable; cf. Roe's *Negotiations*, *passim*.

⁶ See particulars in Belon, II. x.

⁷ First in Lupazzolo, f. 91; cf. also du Fresne Canaye, 174.

already pointed out in connection with the Albanian immigrations,¹ this is characteristic of the second half of the sixteenth century, the fixed colonization dates being 1571 (Psara), 1572 (Samos), and 1575 (Ios), all of which were Albanian or partly Albanian settlements. To his account of Psara in (A) Millo adds that in the same year all the other deserted islets were settled in the same way,² so that this may well have been the date of the repopulation of Hydra and Spetsa, placed on independent grounds about this date,³ of the Cyclades uninhabited in 1563, and of other islands. Whence the Albanians were imported we can only conjecture: they may have been prisoners taken by Uludj-Ali in his Adriatic expedition before Lepanto⁴ or in the suppression of a nearly contemporary rebellion fomented by Venice in the Drin and Boiana country.⁵

For the theory of state-inspired colonization comes unexpected confirmation from a Turkish source. Hadji Khalfa, under date A.H. 979 = A.D. 1570, has the following note:—

*Essendo insorte nell' isole dell' Arcipelago molte sedizioni fra quei popoli, furono queste da Mehmet Passa che vi introdusse pressidij con molta politica ed arte destrutte.*⁶

In conjunction with the facts recorded above, it can hardly be doubted that the garrisons introduced by the vizir Mehemet Sokolly were the new state-aided settlers, the whole scheme being a counterstroke to the intrigues of the European powers with the Christian subjects of the Porte during the war of Cyprus,⁷ possibly suggested by the gallant defence of Tenos for the Venetians by native levies in the course of this same war.

The following table represents a summary of our enquiry as to depopulation and resettlement of the islands in the period preceding the Cretan war:—

¹ *B.S.A.* xv. 223.

² *Dalla vera de l'ano 71*, in qua non sollo questa ma tutti li altri scogli che non erano habittati; cf. Stella, quoted above (Ikaria). The spring of 1571 is probably 1572 by our reckoning.

³ The earliest recorded settlers came to Hydra in 1580 (Miaoules, 'Ιστ. "Υδρας, 36).

⁴ Paruta, *Guerra di Cipro*, 114. Hammer-Hellert, vi. 418-9: the campaign included Sopoto, Timara, Dulcigno, Antivari, Budua, but the Albanians of these parts were probably Catholic.

⁵ Paruta, *loc. cit.* 75.

⁶ Tr. Carli, p. 150.

⁷ See the documents of this period in Lamansky, *Secrets de l'État de Venise*, 077-091.

ISLAND.	ABANDONED.	RESETTLED.	ISLAND.	ABANDONED.	RESETTLED.
Aistrati	1400	1540	Aegina	1537	by 1579
Anaphe	1537 ?	by 1577	Hydra	?	c. 1580
Skiathos }	1538	by 1590	Spetsa	?	c. 1580
Skopelos }	1558	by 1590	Castellorizo	1480 ?	c. xvii ?
Ios	1558	1575	Astypalaea	c. 1340	1413
Mykonos	1537	by 1577	{	1538	by 1577
Kimolos	?	by 1592	Kasos	—	—
Kythnos	—	by 1585	Ikaria	after 1485	by 1578
Paros	1537	by 1563	Psara	c. 1475	1572
Pholegandros . .	by 1420	by 1603 ?	Samos	c. 1480	1572
Santorini	1521 ??	by 1563	Tenedos	1383	1478
Zea	1537	by 1577			

This large proportion of islands known to have been depopulated in a period of roughly two hundred years is significant for the whole history of the islands, and particularly for ethnological and linguistic questions. We know little, and shall probably never know more, of the dark ages of Saracen invasion which preceded the fourth Crusade: but even after the period we have attempted to summarize, there are three similar periods of continued disturbance in the Aegean area, (1) the Cretan war of 1645–1669, (2) the Orloff revolution period (1770–1774), and (3) the Greek War of Independence (1821–1830), all of which caused a like displacement of populations. Yet it is too often assumed that the islands have never changed their populations since ancient times,¹ and that even their dialects may rightly claim the same direct connection with those of antiquity. In the face of the historical evidence it cannot be denied that, though the islands may boast the purest Greek stock, even here admixture is not unknown, and that very few islands—probably none but the largest—can claim with justice that their population has undergone no radical changes even in the last few hundred years.

F. W. HASLUCK.

¹ Oeconomopoulos in *Λεπτικά*, pp. 55–65, giving a list of family-names in Leros (one of the less disturbed islands), says that of these families one-third are *now known* to be of ‘foreign’ origin, *i.e.* at a generous estimate immigrants of less than a hundred years’ standing.

APPENDIX.

THE EARLIER ERUPTIONS OF SANTORIN, 1457-1637.

The evidence of the *Isolarii* as to the earthquakes of Santorin during the two centuries under discussion is of value as independent and obtained locally. Down to the eruption of 1650 no systematic observations were attempted, and for the earlier outbreaks we are dependent on casual references and vague local tradition. The chronology has been complicated by mistakes perpetuated blindly by copyists. The crowning instance is the supposed eruption of 1427, accepted by Philippson from Perrey's list,¹ which proves on examination to depend on a misread date really referring to that of 1457. The latter event, though it does not fall within the experience of either of our authors, has been disputed by the best and most modern authorities,² so that it may be considered worth while to set down the available sources, most of which have been hitherto overlooked.

All the earlier printed authorities lead back to a single source, an inscription in doggerel Latin hexameters engraved on a marble block formerly at or near the Jesuits' church at Skaros. Of this stone no trace can now be found,³ and Père Richard alone of our authorities appears certainly to have seen it. We may suppose that it was written in Gothic characters with contractions, or otherwise difficult to read, since the minor variations in the text, many of them justifiable corrections, are numerous. Richard's text runs:—

*Magnanime Francisce, Heroum certissima proles,
Crispe vides oculis clades quae mira dedere
Mille quadringentis Christi labentibus annis
Quinquies undenis istis iungendo duobus
5 Septimo calendas decembris murmure vasto
Vastus Theresinus immanis saxa Camenae
Cum gemit auulsit, scopuldsque e fluctibus imis
8 Apparet, magno gignet memorabile monstrum.*⁴

¹ *Mém. sur les Tremblements de Terre*, in *Acad. Imp. de Bruxelles, Ouvrages Couronnés*, xxiii. (1850). The author copies much (without verifying) from von Hoff's *Chronik der Erdbeben* (*Veränderungen der Erdoberfläche*, iv.), 1840.

² Fouqué, *Santorin*, 11; Mitsopoulos in *Deffner's Archiv*, 110; Philippson, *Thera*, i. 66.

³ The castle of Skaros, now a mass of shapeless ruins, has been abandoned in living memory, and the inscription may still lie hid amongst the debris.

⁴ *Relation de Santerini*, p. 20: There is a second version (R₂) sent by Richard to Kircher and

Francesco Crispo, Baron of Santorin from 1452, later (1463) became Francesco II. of Naxos.¹ We may suppose that the inscription dates from a rebuilding of the castle of Skaros in his reign. The date, though obscure, is proved by external evidence to be rightly taken as

$$1400 + (5 \times 11) + 2 = 1457$$

not, as Richard himself (but not Kircher) took it,

$$1400 + 5 + (2 \times 11) = 1427,$$

though the latter date, being followed by Coronelli and Tournefort, has gained currency.²

The Skaros inscription is now supplemented by the following evidence :—

(a) The legend of the Paris MS. of Buondelmonti :—

*Hic ab annis viij circa nata est insula in longitudine unius galee uidelicet in 1458.*³

(b) A note in the *Commentaries* of Pius II. :—

*Tum quoque et in Egeo Pelago insula emersit, nunquam antea visa ; parua circuitu, verum super aquas XL cubitis : arsitque diebus aliquot donec flammae defuit bitumen.*⁴

The date is given by the mention of the South Italian earthquake of 1456 immediately above.⁵

published in *Mundus Subterraneus*, iv. § 1, 182. Ross, *Inseln*, i., gives two more, at p. 95 from an MS. copy in the island (Ro.) and at p. 201 from Delenda's *Journal* (1707). The latter, with Coronelli, *Isolario*, 243, and Raspe, *de Novis Insulis*, 40, borrows from Richard : Pègues, *Santorin*, p. 137 (P.), corrects R.'s text, but does not seem to have seen the stone. The chief variations are : l. 2, *nobis* for *clades*. P: l. 4, *undenos*. P: l. 6, *Therae sinus*. Ro., *inmania*. P: l. 7, *Cum gemitu*. P. *scopulus*. R₂: l. 8, *magnum*. R₂ P. *gignit*. R₂.

¹ Hopf, *Chron. Gr-R.* 481. *V-B. Analekten*, 40.

² Delenda, quoted by Motraye, i. 412, gives an alternative date 1452, implying perhaps an independent reading of the stone.

³ The map is reproduced in *Thera*, i. 6. The note also occurs in the B.M. MSS. *Arundel*, 93 (written about 1485) and *Sloane*, 3843 (a late copy of the Paris MS.), but not in the *Isolario* of Martelli (*Add.* 15,760) nor in the (Buondelmonti?) *Add.* 22,925, both of which maps comment on the depth of water in the bay, deriving from the text of Buondelmonti.

⁴ (Frankfort, 1614) p. 29.

⁵ Von Hoff, p. 239 ; cf. the chronological note 1457 in a Patmian MS. quoted by Sakkelion, *Πατ. Βιβλ.* 44 ; Lambros, *Νέος Ἑλληνογενήμων*, vii. 162 (135). The alleged earthquake in Hydra in this year cited by Perrey *s.a.* is a miscopied reference to *Hiera*.

(c) A contemporary account of occurrences in 1463 by Francesco Suriano:—

L'anno seguente [1463], ne lo archipelago venne sì terribile terremoto che l'isola di Scio e di Santorin con tutte le adiacente tremavano in tanto che non potevano stare in piedi; credendo firmamente, si come dissero li habitanti in esse, fosse la fine del mundo. E la matina videro nata una insola appresso loro, longa cinque milia e posenlo nome Chaimeni.¹

(d) A note in an MS. map of the bay of Thera executed about 1707 by one Delahaye:—

l'Anne 1461 parut le Rocher nomme Proruneone² proche de la ville de Scario.³

The variant date seems to certify an independent origin for this note. The islet is shewn immediately opposite the headland of Skaros which gives point to the *vides oculis* of the inscription.

The variation in the dates given by (a), (b), (c), and (d) may imply a long disturbed period. Ross records a tradition that the fifteenth-century outbreak extended over three years,⁴ but considering the small authority of (d) and the similarity of the account (d) with (e) and others undoubtedly referring to the earthquake of 1457, it is safer to refer all accounts to this date: there is, moreover, no record of seismic disturbances elsewhere in the Aegean in 1463.

(e) An undated eyewitness's account handed down by the pilgrim Pietro Casola (1494)⁵:—

... the captain would gladly have approached an island called Santurin. And there was a great dispute in consequence between the captain and the comito and the pilot, who said to the captain that it was not a suitable place to stop at—that is, to cast the anchor. The captain maintained that on other occasions he had anchored there; and he related

¹ *Trattato di Terra Santa* (ed. Golubovich, 1900), p. 219. Other earthquakes in the eastern Mediterranean are also cited as having occurred in the author's experience, viz. in 1462 at Lepanto, in 1480 in Cyprus, and in 1482 in Rhodes. The latter is of course the famous one described by Caoursin and others.

² The word is apparently miscopied (from *Kairobriov* = (Scoglio) nuovo?), but perfectly clearly written.

³ B.M. Add. MSS. 5,234, f. 95, *fait par Delahaye live in Grafton St. at the Woollpack.*

⁴ *Inseln*, i. 91.

⁵ Ed. M. E. Newett, p. 311. The passage was known from the Italian edition to Hopf (*V-B. Analekten*, 39).

that one time when he was in the canal of Santurin with several galleys, a storm arose in the West which continued for the space of three days, and was not only violent but very terrible—great thunder, great flashes of lightning, and noises as if there had been battle chargers there; and all on board the galleys were so terrified that they did not know what world they were in. On the morning of the third day an island as black as coal made its appearance; and the aforesaid captain said that they made every effort to approach it, but could never discover the bottom, and that he had never been able to anchor there since.

The earthquake of 1457 being thus substantiated, it is of interest to observe that the great change in the maps of Thera after Buondelmonti (1420) dates not, as has been said, from Bordone, the compiler and geographer (1528), but from the seaman Bartolommeo (1485) quite soon after the appearance of the new island. One of the notable differences between Buondelmonti's map and Bartolommeo's is the insertion in the latter of a considerable island in the middle of the bay, surely not the *Caimeni* marked by Buondelmonti at the south end of the bay, but the new island of 1457.¹

For the eruption of 1508 (May 29), the authorities are Martin Baumgarten and his fellow-pilgrim George of Gaming, both of whom heard of it from a passing ship on their way home and use identical words in reporting it, to the effect that great damage was done to Candia and other cities of Crete and 'another island called Santorin was split through the midst and made into two islands.'²

The earthquake is also recorded in the Genoese Chronicle of Bartolommeo Senarega under the same date. His last words, referring to localities other than Crete affected, are:—*Huius cladis non expertes fuerunt aliquot Insulae in Aegaeo & praecipue Paron, Nexos, & ea quam Centuriam*³ *vocant. In Chio item* (whence doubtless the news came to Genoa) *terrae motus sentitur*.⁴

¹ The existence of a Caimeni before 1457 seems clear from the words of the inscription, if the text we have (*auolsit* not e.g. *euomuit*) is correct.

² *Per medium scissa est et in duas effecta insulas* (Baumgarten, III. xxxvi., G. Gemnicensis in Pezii, *Anecdotorum Thesaurus*, II. 624). The easiest explanation is perhaps that the news was reported in some such form as Struys heard it (see below) with particulars of the former disasters of the island. The severance of Thera and Therasia is of course prehistoric.

³ For the curious and rare version of the name cf. the Hohenzollern pilgrimage (ed. Geisheim, p. 213).

⁴ Muratori, *Script. Rer. Ital.* xxiv. 595. The Cretan disaster is also noted by Tarcagnola, *Hist. del Mondo*, xxii. 554; in the itineraries of the pilgrims von Hirschfeld (1517, *Mitt. Ges. f.*

The curt and vague reference by J. Struys¹ to an earthquake, probably identical with the above, which destroyed half the island in 1507 adds nothing to our knowledge of this outbreak, nor does cartography help us. There is a hint of renewed volcanic activity in Possot's pilgrimage (1532), but the reference is more probably to Nisyros.²

All that is hitherto known of the earthquake of 1573 is oral tradition collected from the oldest inhabitants at least seventy years after.³ To these may be added the personal observations of Millo, which attest a disturbed period of five years⁴ :—

Il sorzitor di detto porto e tra l'isola di Sant' Erini et Scoglio caymeni qual possi dir sij natto moderno, ma non sol questo ma dal 70 in qua sin 75 ardeva il mar lontano da detto scoglio miglia 3 che e nasciutto fora del mar un scoglio grandò (sic) come una nave di pietra pomega et g^o ó uistto certo.⁵

The *Isolario* of Lupazzolo gives the following :—

Santorini e situata in forma di mezza luna con doi Isolette che la diuidono l'una nominata fressià e l'altra Caimeni nel mezo delle quali cioè tra Santorini et firsia il mare non ha fondo, et un scoglietto poco discosto da detta firsia dicono gli habittanti e le più vecchij huomini che quaranta Anni passati uidero uscire dal detto scoglio una gran fiamma di fuoco quale fu tanto horrenda che temissero d'essere abbissati et detto scoglio non ha piu d. 60 Anni Incirca che è insorto fuor del mare nel

Vaterl. Sprache, Leipzig, 1856, p. 53), J. Le Saige (1518, *Voy. à Jérusalem*, 1851, p. 80), L. Tschudi (1519, *Reyss.*, 1606, p. 76), and Wölfl (1520 *MS.*, cf. Röhricht, *Bibl. Geogr. Pul.*, p. 176, No. 621); also in Lambros' chronological notes (*Néos 'Ελληνομνήμων*, vii. p. 169), Nos. 166, 168, 169, and in Cornaro, *MS. cit.* f. 70 v.

¹ *Voyages* [1657], Amsterdam, 1676, p. 114: from whom Dapper, cited by von Hoff, from whom Perrey (!). Struys' words are in the original text: *Santorin 1507 heeft eene sware Aerdtbeving de helft van de groote | die het doen had | afgescheurt | en omgekeert.*

² *Voyage*, ed. Schefer, p. 190: *Nouse vismes alcunes montagnes fumans de jour et de nuit, brulans incessamment et les disoit on estre gouffres d'enfer.* Santorin is named (p. 191) as one of the islands passed, but cf. Buondelmonti on Nisyros. A nearly contemporary earthquake in Crete (1539) is mentioned in *Néos 'Ελληνομνήμων*, vii. 182 (174).

³ Richard, p. 19, whence Tarillon (Aimé-Martin, *Lett. Édif.* i. 46) and Pègues.

⁴ J. Schmidt, *Vulkanstudien*, p. 125, note, predicates three years for the formation of Mikra Kaimeni.

⁵ B.M. *Julius E. II.* f. 40 r. The map in *Add.* 10,365, f. 85, like that of the Smyrna Atlas, places noua off the S.W. point of Santorin, and remarks on the anchorage: *da la parte da ponente e il porto ma p. uàseti picholi si da fondi tra la isola di Santorini et il scholgio di Caimeni.* There is now no anchorage in the bay.

*mezzo ha un uacuo come pozzo nel quale gettando un gran sasso dentro non si senti il colpo.*¹

This seems to refer to two periods, c. 1598² and c. 1578, but, as the whole passage depends on hearsay evidence collected perhaps during different voyages, it is safer to refer both to the disturbed period 1570–1575.³ The map, shewing a new island in a different position from Millo's, *i.e.* north of Caimeni, is reproduced⁴ above (p. 153, Fig. 2).

For a fourth eruption before the Cretan war, about 1637, Thévenot remains our only authority.⁵ Though Lupazzolo's *Isolario* does not mention it, the obvious connection between this account of the island and Thévenot's and the date given, are probably adequate ground for supposing the *Relatione* to have been his source. In any case, the earthquake was of no great importance.

As to the dating of the various existent or formerly existent islets it is useless for one who is not a geologist to add to the hypotheses already current. The maps are destitute of anything approaching accuracy till after the outbreak of 1650, and the islets which appeared in 1457 and 1570–5 have either sunk again or been amalgamated since.

F. W. H.

¹ f. 82 r.

² An earthquake in Crete in 1595 is noted in *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*, vii. 182 (232).

³ As at other times, the eruption at Santorin was accompanied by others in the Aegean area (Constantinople, 1571, vón Hoff) and Italy (Perrey, xxii.).

⁴ The improvement on Bordone in the matter of legend is marked.

⁵ *Voyage*, ch. 68, copied by Tournefort. An earthquake in 1636 is cited by Lambros (*loc. cit.* No. 258) from a Mytilenaeon MS. The nearly contemporary earthquake at Smyrna catalogued by Perrey is a 'double' of that of 1739.

CENOTAPHS AND SACRED LOCALITIES.

‘IM allgemeinen wird man behaupten dürfen dass, wenn die Griechen einmal die “Gräber” ihrer Heroen aufgegraben hätten, sie in den weitaus meisten Fällen keine Gebeine gefunden haben würden. Die “Gräber” waren alte Kultstätten, die allmählich in der Legende das Grab des einstigen Gottes wurden.’¹

A NOTICEABLE feature with regard to sacred localities (sacred springs, trees, wells and the like) not only in Ancient Greece, but also in other lands, is the frequent association of the sacred spot with the supposed grave of a saint, prophet or holy man. For example, a long list of sacred localities in the Punjab was published by Miss Burne and Mr. Rose in *Folklore*, xxi.² and it will be seen that the feature to which I have alluded, is as prominent here as in the traditions of Ancient Greece. It has, of course, attracted the attention of the authors, who offer two slightly different explanations of the phenomenon. (1) ‘The power of the original healer has passed into his tomb instead of into his descendants, or has been communicated by him to a well instead of to a disciple.’³ This explanation, it will be observed, admits the existence of the buried prophet and his holiness as the ultimate source of the power of the locality. (2) ‘It may be doubted whether those legendary Fakîrs, who are said to have given power to the wells, are not in reality early devotees of the wells in question, whose memory lingers at the places they themselves worshipped, and beside which they were frequently buried.’⁴ Here the locality is recognised as the original sanctity, but it is taken for granted that the sacred well is associated with an historic personage actually buried at the place.

¹ Pfister, *Der Reliquienkult im Altertum*, p. 396.

² ‘Occult Powers of healing in the Punjab,’ *Folklore*, xxi. p. 313.

³ *Ib.* p. 319.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 323.

Now at the outset I should like it to be clear that I do not for a moment deny that it is quite possible in individual cases that (1) the tomb of a holy man may eventually give sanctity to the locality in which it is placed or (2) that a devotee may be buried near a sacred spot in which he had worshipped, and that his tomb may acquire the sanctity of the holy place. But I cannot help regarding these as the minority of cases, the variations of local accident, and I believe that some more general tendency in the development of religious thought must be discovered to account for so invariable a tendency to associate a supposed tomb with the sacred locality.

I say a *supposed* tomb, for the first point to grasp in approaching the problem is that in a great many cases there is no tomb and never has been a tomb at these holy places at all. Take for example the Malay *kramats*, (*kramat* is primarily an adjective which means 'possessing magical power,' secondarily a *kramat* locality). 'Theoretically *kramats* are supposed to be the graves of deceased holy men, the early apostles of the Mohammedan faith, the first founders of the village, who cleared the primeval jungle, and other persons of local notoriety in a former age.' Some, we are told, connect these *kramats* with ancestor worship. 'It is certain, however, that many of these *kramats* are not graves at all' and Mr. Skeat concludes that they have their origin in 'primitive nature worship or the adoration of the spirits of the natural objects.'¹ Was there an actual tomb of Teiresias shown at Telphousa? The graves of Kalchas and Podaleirios were admittedly cenotaphs.

Writers on classical religion have not usually taken the tomb seriously, but their account of the association of dead heroes is rather different from that which I propose to give. The doctrines of that inversion of Euhemerism which is the creed of Usener's school, demand that the sacred localities were the places of worship of gods, who subsequently degenerated into heroes. The fatal objection to such a theory is that it neglects the priority of the sanctity of the localities to the sanctity of the personalities connected with them. No one, I think, who has studied the question of sacred wells and trees from the comparative standpoint, or who has read Mr. Hartland's exhaustive treatment of them in the second volume of his *Legend of Persons*, can doubt that the

¹ Skeat, *Malay Magic*, pp. 62 foll.

sanctity of magical localities goes back to the remotest beginnings of preanimistic religion.

The cause which ultimately, I believe, underlies this association of sacred places with a supposed tomb, is a tendency of no small importance in the development of religion, the tendency to give a defined personality to the vague power or spirit inherent in, or associated with objects of awe or reverence. It is unnecessary to multiply examples of the way in which localities impress superstitious man with awe, sometimes in virtue of their grandeur, whether menacing or beautiful, sometimes in virtue of some peculiar characteristic.¹ 'Nullus enim fons non sacer,' says Servius.²

In many cases, the reverence paid to these sacred localities may have preceded the development of animistic religion. It is quite clear in many of the instances of healing wells, that the water originally worked its cure in virtue of its own *mana* or magic power, not because it was the instrument of some spirit. And the ford rites, which I have discussed elsewhere,³ have often for their object the aversion of the danger which arises from contact with the magic water itself, rather than with a spirit inhabiting it. But early, at any rate, the animistic stage is reached. The power of the water is personified, if vaguely, in a spirit or a *numen* :—

Lucus Aventino suberat niger ilicis umbra
Quo possis viso dicere numen inest.⁴

It is important to notice how vague at first these *numina* are. Of the Nez Percé Indians we are told that 'their conception of the world was animistic, according to which there were spirits in trees, hills, rivers, and other natural objects. These spirits *had no special names*, and were intimately associated with the objects in which they dwelt. *When named they took the names of those objects*. The spirits were both good and evil ; those residing in the trees and streams benevolent. There were a few trees that rose almost to the dignity of shrines, and which were said to hold conversation sometimes with shamans and chiefs, giving them advice on important occasions.⁵' Here the spirits hardly seem to have a generic name. The generic name is of course the next stage in the process of

¹ See Karsten, *Studies in Primitive Greek Religion*, p. 41 ; Frazer, *Pausanias*, iii. p. 447.

² Servius, *Aeneid*, vii. 84.

³ *Folklore*, xxi. p. 159.

⁴ Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 295.

⁵ Spinden, 'The Nez Percé Indians,' *Memorials of the American Anthropological Association*, ii. Pt. 3, p. 258. The italics are mine. Cf. account of the Shuswap, Teit, *Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, ii. 7, p. 60.

more definite personification. The waters are sacred because they are the habitation of a kind of spirit called Nymphs. 'Fontes sacros quia omnibus aquis Nymphae sunt praesidentes.'¹ In many cases, these nymphs are identified, or their life at least is identified, with that of the water or grove,² but the power of the water has none the less made considerable progress in a process of evolution towards becoming an independent personality who uses the water merely as an instrument. Sometimes animism goes to its furthest conclusion, and we have a Skamander, who rises in human form to rebuke Achilles.³ And again, local geographical names play a part in the differentiation of vague water powers into individuals.

τῶν ὄνομα ἀργαλέον πάντων βροτῶν ἀνὴρ ἐνισπεῖν
οἱ δὲ ἕκαστοι ἴσασιν οὗ ὃν περιναϊετάωσιν.⁴

For Hesiod, as for Miss Kingsley's West Africans, every bend of a river has its peculiar spirit. For the people who know the locality each is an individual personality under a definite name. Animism takes a short cut to achieve the individual personality towards which the majority of holy places move by a more circuitous route.

Another statement of Servius must be placed beside the one quoted above. 'Facite nemora circa fontes. Et hoc ideo quia ut diximus heroum animae habitant vel in fontibus vel in nemoribus.'⁵ The vague indeterminate nature spirits may be 'heroum animae' as well as 'nymphae praesidentes.' In Lithuania we find the same strange combination and mention of spirits called *deivaites*, who are at once ghosts and water nymphs.⁶

The apparent anomaly will not disturb those familiar with the confused thought of primitive man. Vague spiritual personalities like these nature spirits with generic names, but without names of individual significance,⁷ can be almost anything, precisely because their character-

¹ Servius, *Eclogue*, i. 53.

² For the death of nymphs when their tree is cut down cf. *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, 214 foll.; *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, 41; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, viii. 741-744; Apollonios Rhodius, *Argonautica*, i. 471; Plutarch, *de def. Orac.* 11. The stories of Rhoikos and Arkas, *F.H.G.* i. p. 35; Bode, *Mythog. Graec.* ii. 50.

³ *Iliad*, xxi. 213.

⁴ Hesiod, *Theogony*, 369.

⁵ Servius, *Eclogue*, v. 40. . . . ⁶ Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 89, s.v. Deives.

⁷ 'Erst in eigennamen verdichtet sich die flüssige vorstellung zu einem festen kern, der träger einer persönlichkeit werden kann. Der eigennamen nötigt, wie der rufname des menschen, an eine bestimmte persönlichkeit zu denken, für welche er ausschliesslich gilt.' Usener, *op. cit.* p. 330.

istics are so nebulous and because they are so far from being, as yet, the clear-cut personalities towards which they are moving. M. Mauss remarks of the Australian *Iruntarinia*, 'Ceux-ci sont des esprits d'une nature singulière et dont la personnalité mythique est des plus mal déterminées. Étrangement confondus avec les âmes des ancêtres perpétuellement réincarnés en leurs descendants et, par conséquent, confondus avec les doubles des vivants, ils sont encore des sortes de feés qui vivent sous terre, dans une espèce d'Elysée souterrain, plein de lumière et de soleil et merveilleusement arrosé. Enfin les *Iruntarinia* ont des figures d'animaux et se confondent en somme avec les espèces totémiques des groupes locaux auxquels ils sont attachés.'¹ Skeat notices in the case of Malay Jinns that they form a connecting link between gods and ghosts, and how the nebulous indeterminateness of their personality confuses in one class spiritual powers imported by Mohammedanism, with Hindu spirits and nature spirits.² Any student who attempts to analyse the various forms of devil or fairy enumerated by Burton, or who endeavours to establish the distinction of *δαίμονες* and *ἥρωες* will soon discover that in the majority of specific instances his hard and fast distinctions do not apply. M. Bouché Leclercq, for example, discovers that he cannot separate rigidly the dead from heroes. 'A ce degré de vulgarisation des qualités et dignités héroïques, la distinction que nous voulons maintenir pour clarté entre les révélations héroïques et les révélations necromantiques, nous échappe.'³ He has mistaken the cause of his difficulty, and in the light of anthropology his degeneration theory cannot be accepted. Nature spirits, heroes, daimons, ghosts, all shade into one another. *νεκρὸς εἶ ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς μόνῃ τῇ γοητείᾳ διαφέρων*, says Menippos to Trophonios:⁴ it is as difficult for us as for the maligned hero to explain where exactly his prophetic power came from or to place Trophonios in the rigid boundary of any single category. The fact of the matter is that so long as spirits are called by a generic name and have no individual name of real significance, their characteristics are nebulous and ill-defined. They may even belong to quite different categories at the same time. Such confusion of mind is not uncommon.

¹ Mauss, *L'Origine des Pouvoirs Magiques*, p. 31; cf. *ibid.* pp. 14 and 17.

² Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 93.

³ Bouché Leclercq, *Histoire de la divination dans l'Antiquité*, iii. pp. 316, 319.

⁴ Lucian, *Dial. Mort.* 3, 2.

An example occurs to me in which a Black Dog figures at once as the soul of 'a wicked, wicked old man,' and at the same time as the black dog who is the harbinger of death.¹

The history of the evolution of these confused classes of spirits is not really difficult to understand. In the progress of religious belief, as in the progress of civilisation, the gradual recognition and resolution of inconsistencies plays its part. *Mana* becomes differentiated into good and evil; 'medicine' tends to become classified as *φάρμακα πολλά μὲν ἐσθλὰ μεμιγμένα, πολλά δὲ λυγρά*.² In a similar way spirits tend to become departmentalised just as poet and prophet tend to become differentiated. Conscious reflection and the work of the learned assist the process. The statement that Thales was the first to divide the spiritual world into God, daimons, and heroes is at least to this extent true, in that the demonologists with their classifications undoubtedly assist the process of differentiation. But it is important, I think, to realise that belief halts always behind reason. When the classes become differentiated in theory, in practice they overlap. The man who fears a pixy does not, unless he has time to think it over, decide what particular form of fairy he imagines it to be. It is the vague spiritual personality of which he has awe, rather than a clear-cut conception of a little man dressed in green clothes.³

The stage then of the 'nymphae praesidentes' recognises a vague class of indeterminate spirits who reside in the sacred locality; the magic well is 'the fairies' well.' A further step comes when a definite nymph emerges as the particular presiding deity of a fountain. Telpousa has an individual personality; she is no longer capable of being confused with a ghost.

But the tendency is to seek for a still more definite personality. In the British Isles the saint tends to oust the fairy, in Greece Telpousa becomes the spring where Teiresias died and was buried.⁴ The connection

¹ *Folklore*, xv. p. 83.

² Homer, *Odyssey*, iv. 230.

³ An interesting example of how little rigidity there is in the popular conceptions of nature spirits as opposed to literary definition is the case of the neatherd in the *Iphigenia in Tauris*, l. 272, who mistakes Orestes and Pylades for possible Nereids:

εἴτ' οὖν ἐπ' ἀκταῖς θάσσετον Διοσκόρω,
ἢ Νερέως ἀγάλμαθ', ὃς τὸν εὐγενῆ
ἔτικτε πεντήκοντα Νηρηΐδων χορόν.

⁴ Apollodoros, iii. 84; Pausanias, ix. 33, 1; Diodoros, iv. 67; Strabo, ix. 2, 27, 411. Bouché Leclercq, *ob. cit.* iii. p. 332.

between water, earth, and the netherworld doubtless assisted the victory of the *heroum animae*, and there is further, I believe, a certain stage in religious development, in Greek religious development at any rate, where spiritual interest is absorbed chiefly with ghosts or the souls of the departed. And it is owing to this tendency to crystallise the power of the water into a clear-cut personality, and the interest in the spirits of the dead, that the vast majority of healing and divinatory springs in antiquity were associated with some hero's grave. In some cases it is true the hero has been ousted by the greater dignity of the Olympian God,¹ but in many, the hero marks the final stage of the development of a divine personality. And the favourite explanation of the hero's presence will naturally be that he was buried there, just as the inhabitants of East Scafton in Yorkshire believe that St. Simon was buried at their well.² The particular hero to be chosen at any given place to undergo the honour of a supposed burial by the side of the local sacred well or tree, will depend of course, on local circumstances and popularities. To find Amphiaraios and Teiresias at the sacred wells of Boiotia is what we should expect. The popularity of the Mohammedan Saint, Sidi Gherîb, is such that apparently most of the cairns in N. Africa, which, exactly like the wells of Greece, tend to be considered as the graves of holy men, are associated with his name.³ In Palestine, of course, it is the tree of Abraham; 'ubi Abraham habitavit et puteum fodit sub arbore terebintho et cum angelis locutus est et cibum sumpsit, ibi basilica facta est jussu Constantini mirae pulchritudinis.'⁴ And in Palestine too, there is a development, analogous to that in Greece of the 'nymphae praesidentes' into a dead hero. 'These oaks under which we now sit are believed to be inhabited by Jan and other spirits. . . . Many of them in this region are believed to be inhabited by certain spirits, called Benât Yá'kob—daughters of Jacob—a strange and obscure notion in regard to which I could never

¹ For the supersession of heroes in cult by Olympian gods see Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, p. 11. A similar theological tendency is traceable in mythology, e.g. in the story of Glaukos and Polyeidios where, in some of the later versions, Apollo takes the place of the Kouretes, and in others, Asklepios that of Polyeidios.

² Gutch, *County Folklore*, ii., *The North Riding, etc.*, p. 32. 'The country people asserted that St. Simon the Apostle is buried there; an evident mistake. It is however possible that some holy martyr of that name . . . may have suffered during the Danish persecution.' The suggested explanation is that of the fireside rationalist.

³ Douté, *Magie et Religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, p. 434. For an account of these cairns *ib.* pp. 419-435.

⁴ Frazer, in *Anthropological Essays presented to Prof. E. B. Tylor*, pp. 128-130, quoting the *Itinerarium Burdigalense*.

obtain an intelligible explanation. . . . Connected with this notion, no doubt, is the custom of burying their holy men and so-called prophets under those trees, and erecting *mûrars* (domed shrines) to them there.’¹

I am convinced that the evolution of a divine personality as the patron of a sacred place on the lines indicated, is a real process which takes place in the history of religious development. First there is the awe of a mysterious power, then animism endows this power with the shadowy personality of a spirit which, in course of time, tends more and more to become a concrete individual with a defined character and a personal name. It is the kind of process that leads the Oxfordshire peasant to account for the monolith known as the Hoar Stone by supposing it to be the grave of a great General Hoar. Just as the Hoar Stone existed before the creation of a fabulous general, we may suspect that the sites of the supposed graves of many of the Greek heroes possessed an immemorial sanctity to which is directly due the attachment of a hero cult in the later stages of their history. Homer’s description of the grave of Eetion inverts the normal, though not, perhaps, invariable order of religious development :—

ἦδ’ ἐπὶ σῆμ’ ἔχεν. περὶ δὲ πελέας ἐφύτευσαν
Νύμφαι Ὀρεστιάδες, κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο.²

In conclusion a not uninteresting support is lent to the theory put forward, by the rites of *lekanomancy*. *Lekanomancy* is the Greek name for all forms of divination by means of the bowl of water, and all its methods are really nothing more or less than the performance of the divinatory rites of holy wells by means of the practically more convenient instrument, the bowl of water. The most popular, of course, of the methods which fall under the scope of this title, is that of seeing the past or future reflected in a bowl of liquid or a crystal. Now leaving out of account modern drawing-room superstition, if I may call it so, which tends always to lay emphasis on the subjective element in the rite, and the ‘psychic’ condition of the performer, the theories of the validity of the process display exactly the same development from the power of the magical water to a spiritual agent, a clear-cut personality who uses the water

¹ Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, pp. 474-6, quoted Frazer, *op. cit.* p. 120, cf. Frazer, *loc. cit.* p. 120. The Daughters of Jacob are associated in many places with groves of oaks and shrines, in one indeed, it is the damsels, not a deceased prophet, who actually live in the tomb.

² *Iliad*, vii. 419.

as his instrument. The first stage is intimately connected with the magic well. Looking into magic water in a bowl is merely the transference to a convenient fireside instrument of the ritual of the sacred well which reflects past, present, or future events, like that of Demeter at Patrai,¹ of Apollo near Kyaneai,² or the magic spring at Tainaron³ and the superstitious rites which Lucian is thinking of when he describes his great prophetic mirror and well in the *Vera Historia*.⁴ Similarly in Cornwall, the conjurer of St. Colomb, rather a celebrated West Country character in the beginning of the last century, detected thieves by showing their faces in a tub of water.⁵ Apuleius' accusers make the possession of a mirror a charge of magical mal-practice.⁶

The next stage, analogous to that of the 'nymphae praesidentes,' is reached when the magical power of the water is no longer *per se* sufficient; a spirit must be invoked to cause the image to appear. 'Angelo bianco, angelo santo, per la sua santità et per la mia virginità mostrarmi che ha tolto tal cosa' must be recited by the damsel before the image of the thieves will appear in the phial of Holy Water.⁷ A further stage yet is attained, when a spirit is not only invoked, but actually appears.⁸ Sir Frederick Swettenham describes how an Arab placed in some water a piece of paper on which a charm had been written. First there appeared a little old Jinn, who was then asked to conjure up the scene of the robbery.⁹ In the little old Jinn the power of the magic water or crystal has become a clear-cut personality.

Further, that tendency for spiritual interest to become absorbed in ghosts, assisted perhaps in this case by the imposing barbarity of the horrors of necromantic ritual, have produced a contamination of necromancy and hydromancy, and the spirits invoked into the water may be ghosts. St. Augustine, who interprets the legend of Egeria as meaning that Numa invented hydromancy, is positive that there is no distinction between hydromancy and necromancy.¹⁰ And it is curious to note that

¹ Paus. vii. 21, 12.

² Paus. vii. 21, 13.

³ Paus. iii. 25, 8.

⁴ Lucian, *Vera Historia*, i. 26.

⁵ Hunt, *Drolls and Romances of the West of England*, 2nd series, p. 210.

⁶ Apuleius, *Apologia*, 13.

⁷ Dalryell, *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, p. 520.

⁸ Reginald Scott, *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, Booke 15, cap. xix. pp. 188, 189.

⁹ Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 538.

¹⁰ Augustine, *de Civ. Dei*, vii. 35, quae sive hydromantia, sive necromantia dicatur, id ipsum est, ubi videntur mortui divinare.

Tzetzes believed that Odysseus did not go down to Hades, but consulted the ghost of Teiresias by lekanomantic means.¹

More generally the method is to summon some god or spirit into your water or crystal, and the process of the evolution of the power of the water into a personality is thus completed; when summoned into the instrument your god or spirit will converse with you direct. Just as the Oropian spring lost all its divinatory powers and became merely the receptacle for the *ex voto* offering to Amphiaraos, so in the minor art of lekanomancy the water ceases even to be the instrument whereby the invoked spirit reveals the future, it is now merely part of the magical paraphernalia used in invocation. This is the part which it plays in the divinatory rites of the *papyri*.² Hippolytos gives an interesting account of the various methods of conjuring apparatus which charlatans used to effect the appearance of the god or spirit in the bowl.³ In classical times there is an instance as early as the Mithridatic Wars of a prophecy of 160 verses delivered by a boy contemplating a *simulacrum* of Mercury in a bowl of water.⁴

In the smaller sphere then of one of the minor arts of divination, the same tendency which we endeavoured to trace in the case of sacred localities, may be observed. The craving after a definite personality to reverence is no unimportant factor in religious evolution. By the increasing definition of its progressive stages it creates by limitation, a personal spiritual power from the formless *mana* of its earliest awe, as the sculptor gradually reduces from the formless block the statue of a man. And while individual cases may be due to other and local causes (it is possible to bury your John Nicholson by a sacred well or to plant a grove round his sacred grave), the almost universal association of spiritual personalities with sacred localities must be due to a wider underlying tendency of religious evolution. In many cases at least, the sanctity of the localities is older than this association, and I cannot help thinking that the ultimate reason for the very frequent appearance of the supposed graves of saints and heroes at sacred wells and trees, is due, both in Greece and elsewhere, to the tendency we have mentioned combined with the strong feeling of reverence for the spirits of the departed great. The saint dispossesses the fairies, and Teiresias ousts Telphousa, when a stage of religious develop-

¹ Tzetzes, *ad Lykophron*, 813.

² Abt, *Die Apologie des Apuleius*, p. 246.

³ Hippolytos, *Ref. omn. heres.* iv.

⁴ Apuleius, *Apologia*, 42. His authority is Varro.

ment is reached which demands a personality to worship worthy of the sanctity of the place. When a hero does not suffice for the religious aspirations of the worshippers, either the sanctity of the locality will fall into desuetude or the more august figure of a god will take the hero's place.

W. R. HALLIDAY.

A LATIN INSCRIPTION FROM PERRHAEBIA.

IN April, 1911, during an exploring journey undertaken on behalf of the Macedonian Exploration Fund, while travelling from Serfije to Elassona we were fortunate enough to discover the important Latin inscription here published.¹ It lies in the ruined church of the Holy Trinity (*Ἁγία Τριάς*) on the right bank of the Sarantaporos, about five minutes to the north of the gendarmerie post by the Khan of Hajji Zhogu, on the high road some three hours to the north of Elassona. The inscription is on a tall, narrow stele of coarse blue marble .48 m. wide by .96 m. high and topped by a gable, .16 m. high, below which is a moulded architrave .04 m. high. The total height of the inscribed part is .74 m., and the stone is .10 m. thick. Unfortunately the stele, which is Greek in shape, has been broken in two obliquely not far below the top, and owing to the bad quality of the marble employed the break is not clean, and the surface is badly splintered. Thus lines 2–8 are badly damaged, but fortunately, with one exception, they can easily be restored. Below the last line that is visible on the marble the stele is broken away, but the inscription does not seem to have been much longer, for below the last line at the breakage in one place is a blank space on which the next line below should appear if the inscription had been longer. Consequently we may assume on this slight evidence that the inscription is complete for all practical purposes. The text is as follows :—

¹ In preparing this inscription for publication we are deeply indebted to the kind help of Dr. von Premerstein.

MP·CAIISARI·NII
 II·AVG·IR·III
 ARTIC·V·LII·C
 VI·K·APRILIS
 IS·SCRIPT·VM·IIT·RII
 IX·CONMIINTARIO
 I·GINII
 DATI
 TRAIANO·Q·VOD·PRO·TV·
 CAI·LIVS·NIG·IR·IN·Q·VOSC
 RI·PT·VM·IR·AT·ID·Q·IS·FC·VM
 RO·BAT·VM·SIT·MI·HI·IN·STI·LA·LAP
 ID·II·A·Q·VA·II·PO·SI·TA·I·IST·IN·FOR
 O·DO·LICH·AN·OR·VM·IN·SCRIPTOS
 I·ISS·II·FI·NI·IS·COM·VI·NI·I·NT·I
 S·DI·FI·NI·TION·I·RI·IG·II·FACT·II
 AB·AMY·NTA·PHI·LIP·PI·PA·TRA·II·IN
 TI·IR·DO·LICH·AN·OS·IIT·II·LI·MI
 OT·AS·PI·AC·IIT·FI·NI·IM·I·ISS·II·AT·IR
 MI·NO·Q·V·I·IST·IN·VI·AS·V·PRA
 GI·IR·A·NA·S·IN·TI·IR·AZ·ZO·RI·SI
 ON·O·AR·II·AS·IIT·PI·IT·RA·II·AS
 DO·LICH·IS·PI·IR·SV·MM·A·IV·G
 TCAN·P·VM·Q·VI·PRO·NOM
 OCAT·VR·ITA·VT·CAN·P·VS·IN
 RT·II·ST·II·LI·MI·OT·AR·VM·II
 SV·MM·A·IV·G·A·^{AT}

- Imp(eratore) Caesare Ne(rva)
 [Trae(iano)] Au(gusto) Ger(manico) IIII
 [et Q(uinto)] Articuleio
 [co(n)s(ulibu)s a(nte) d(iem)] VI K(alendas) Apriles.
 5 [De]scriptum et re-
 [cognitum e]x conmentario
 [Ve]rg[i]n[i P]u[bliani] iudicis
 dati a[b im](p)er[at]or[e]
 Traeciano, quod protu[li]t
 10 Caelius Niger, in quo sc-
 riptum erat id q(uod) i(nfra) s(criptum) (e(st)). Cum
 [p]robatum sit mihi in stela lap-
 idea, quae posita est in for-
 o Dolichanorum, inscriptos
 15 esse f(i)nes conveniente-
 s defini(t)ioni regiae factae
 ab Amynta Philippi patr<a>e in-
 ter Dolichanos et Elemi-
 otas, p(l)acet finem esse a ter-
 20 mino, qui est in via supra
 Geranas inter Azzoris [et]
 Ono(a)reas et Petraeas [in]
 Dolichis, per summa iug[a]
 [a]t canpum, qui Pronom[ae]
 25 [v]ocatur, ita ut canpus in [pa-]
 rte sit Elemiotarum, e[t per]
 summa iuga at - - - - -

The letters are carefully cut, and those in the first four lines, which give the date, are bigger than the rest being .03 m. against .02 m. high. Faint lines are ruled on the marble for the guidance of the engraver, and the only remarkable point in the shape of the letters is that II is used throughout for E. From various peculiarities it seems that the engraver did not know Latin. In line 9 there is *Traeiano*, and also, if our restoration is correct in line 2 TRAIL. In line 11 F might stand for *fuit*, but the sense and the formula require *est*; ¹ still it is hard to see how the engraver came to write F in an inscription where E is throughout written as II. In line 15 we have *fenes* for *fines*, in line 16 *definiitioni* for *definitioni*, in line 17 *patrae* for *patre*, in line 19 *piacet* for *placet*, and finally in line 22 the fourth letter was originally carved as a Δ and then an attempt was made to correct it into an A. In addition to these errors interpuncts are omitted between several words.

The gaps in the text can easily be restored with one or two exceptions. In line 2 the II before AV is clear, and seems to show that we should restore here TRAIL as an abbreviation of TRAIIIANO which occurs in line 9. The restoration of lines 5 and 6 is made in accordance with the usual formula indicating a copy of a *commentarius*.² We have not restored any word to fill the gap before *descriptum*, because it seems probable that there was a blank left at the beginning of this line to indicate the beginning of the text after the date. This is still more probable if the blank space at the beginning of line 8, which is certain, is not due to an error of the engraver. In line 7 the restoration of the name of the *index* is very uncertain, as it comes just where the stele is broken through. Verginius seems to be the only name that fits the fragments of letters still visible. For the *cognomen* the only names that suit the letters that can be distinguished are Publianus, or Rubrianus.³ In front of Verginius there is room for one letter more, the abbreviation of the *praenomen*. The other restorations are simple and obvious, except those in lines 21 and 22 which are discussed below.⁴

To turn to the text of the inscription itself, we have in the first four lines the date given by the names of the consuls for the year,

¹ See inscription quoted below, p. 197.

² Cf. Pauly-Wissowa, iv. pp. 733, 737.

³ Cf. *C.I.L.* viii. 9157.

⁴ For *at* instead of *ad* in line 24, cf. the Latin boundary inscription from Lamia, *C.I.L.* iii. 586, 12, 306, ll. 10, 13.

the emperor Trajan consul for the fourth time, and Quintus Articuleius, about whom little is known.¹ This year was 101 A.D. The abbreviations of the emperor's names are unusual. Then follows the day of the month, *A.D. VI. K. Apriles*, the twenty-seventh of March. The four lines giving the date are, as remarked above, in bigger letters than the rest of the text. Then follow the formal words, at least we may so restore them, showing that this is an official copy, 'copied and verified' is the phrase,² from the report of a special arbitrator appointed (*datus*) by the emperor Trajan. It is not stated in the text who Caelius (or C. Aelius) Niger was, but the sentence *quod protulit*, which depends on *commentario* shows that Caelius Niger had the duty of keeping and perhaps of writing up the official note-book (*commentarius*) of the *iudex*. This contained all the evidence and documents relating to the case, and the text of the actual judgment. From this an extract was made on the petition of one of the interested parties, in this case the inhabitants of Doliche, and recorded on the marble stele which has been found. *Profero* is the technical word indicating the production of an official record for the purpose of making a properly certified copy. In an inscription from Sardinia, dating from the reign of Otho, and also referring to a boundary dispute we have a formula very similar to that of our inscription.³ It runs: *descriptum et recognitum ex codice ansato L. Helvii Agrippae proconsulis quem protulit Cn. Egnatius Fuscus scriba quaestorius in quo scriptum fuit it quod infra scriptum est* Perhaps Caelius Niger was the *scriba quaestorius* of Macedonia, which from 44 A.D. was like Achaia a senatorial province. At the end of line 11 we come to the sentence giving the decision of the imperial arbitrator. From what follows we see that an appeal had been made to the emperor to decide a boundary dispute between the inhabitants of Elemiotis,⁴ one of the districts of upper Macedonia, and the citizens of Doliche, one of the three members of the Tripolis in northern Perrhaebia. The arbitrator based his decision on a previous

¹ Clinton, *Fasti Romani*, i. p. 88; *Prosographia Imp. Rom.*, s.n.

² Cf. Pauly-Wissowa, iv. pp. 733, 737.

³ *C.I.L.* x. 7,852; Bruns, *Fontes Iuris Romani*, p. 231.

⁴ This seems to be the correct Latin spelling in spite of Livy (xlv. 30). The Greek form of the name is 'Ελειμιωτίς, as shown by a Delphian inscription (*B.C.H.* 1897, p. 112), and the reading of the majority of the MSS. of Thucydides (ii. 99). The province, originally an independent principality, was subdued by Philip II., and after the Roman conquest of Macedonia formed part of the fourth region.

award of Amyntas the father of Philip which he found inscribed on a stelè set up in the market place of Doliche. This shows how careful the Romans were in dealing with subject peoples, especially in provinces formerly parts of Hellenistic kingdoms, to respect local privileges and customs. A typical instance of this is their treatment of the Jews. A recently discovered inscription of Thyatira,¹ recording a decision of Caracalla, shows that in this case again, the imperial decision was based on a previous award of the kings of Pergamon. The last nine lines contain topographical details defining the boundary line.

The importance of this inscription lies in three main points. First the light it throws on the Roman imperial administration. Secondly it has considerable importance regarding the geography of northern Perrhaëbia and Elemiotis. Thirdly the mention of king Amyntas the father of Philip, is interesting as referring to a dark period in the history of the Macedonian kingdom.

During the imperial period Thessaly was administratively united with Macedonia, so that the boundary dispute, although dealing with the ancient boundaries of Macedonia and Perrhaëbia, was as regards the Roman provincial government, merely an internal dispute and not one which concerned two provinces. Trajan appointed an arbitrator whose decision, as that of the emperor's representative, was final. To judge by a much mutilated inscription found by Heuzey² on the hills to the east of Elassona, another boundary dispute between Dium and Oloosson was decided by Trajan in this same year. Unfortunately, as the stone found seems to have been only one of those set up to mark the boundary line awarded, we learn nothing from the inscription about the procedure followed in that case. In another boundary dispute³ between Lamia and Hypata, in which appeal was made to the emperor, Hadrian wrote to the proconsul ordering him to decide it with the assistance of surveyors. Thereupon the proconsul, Q. Gellius Augurinus, heard the arguments and witnesses on both sides and with the aid of a surveyor fixed the boundary line. Thus in each of these three recorded boundary disputes in the province of Macedonia, appeal was made to the emperor as the ultimate authority.

The main importance of the inscription however lies in the additions it

¹ Premierstein-Keil, *Wiener Denkschriften*, liv. p. 13.

² *C.I.L.* iii. 591.

³ *C.I.L.* iii. 586, 12306.

enables us to make to our knowledge of the geography of Perrhaebia¹ and Elemiotis (see Map, Fig. 1). Doliche² was one of the towns which, with Pythion³ and Azoros,⁴ formed the Perrhaebian Tripolis.⁵ These towns are mentioned several times in ancient authors and in inscriptions, but so far, no certain evidence has been found to fix their actual positions. The most important evidence for the topography of the Tripolis is to be found in Livy, in his account of the Third Macedonian war.⁶ In 171 B.C. Perseus marched into Thessaly from lake Begorrites (Ostrovo). On his route southwards he came first to the Haliacmon and Elemea, then crossing the Cambunian mountains by a narrow pass, presumably that of Volustana⁷ which he occupied two years later when Q. Marcius Philippus encamped between Azoros and Doliche,⁸ descended into the Perrhaebian Tripolis. Therefore it seems certain that Pythion, Doliche, and Azoros were situated in the rolling country about the upper waters of the Sarantaporos (the ancient Europos). This district is geographically separated from the Ellassona and Potamia districts by a range of hills through which the Sarantaporos forces its way below the villages of Klisoura and Kephlovryso. In it there are three ancient sites,⁹ the Kastro of Vouvala on the left bank of the river, a site known as Kastri about half an hour east of the Khan of Hajji Zhogu by the vineyards belonging to Vlacho-Livadi, and the hill on which stands the church of the Hagioi Apostoloi to the south of Selos. These must be the three cities of the Tripolis. All authorities are agreed in placing Pythion at Selos, but as to which of the other two is Doliche and which Azoros we must attempt to decide. An inscription¹⁰ found at Corfu dating from the second century B.C. gives an arbitrators' decision in a boundary

¹ See Kip, *Thess. Studien*, pp. 111 ff.

² Livy, xlii. 53, xlv. 2; Ptolemy, iii. 13; *I.G.* ix. 2, No. 1296, l. 20; Leake, *Northern Greece*, iii. p. 344; Lolling, *Hell. Landeskunde*, p. 151; Bursian, *Geogr. Griechenlands*, i. p. 57; Kromayer, *Griech. Schlachtfelde*, ii. pp. 237, 268.

³ Plutarch, *Aem. Paul.* 15; Steph. Byz. *s.v.*; Livy, xlii. 53, xlv. 2, 35; Ptolemy, iii. 13, 42; *B.C.H.* 1897, p. 112; Leake, *op. cit.* iii. p. 341; Bursian, *op. cit.* i. p. 57; Kromayer, *op. cit.* ii. pp. 237, 270, 304 ff.

⁴ Polybius, xxviii. 13, 1; Ptolemy, 12, 39; Steph. Byz. *s.n.*; Diod. xix. 52, 6; Livy, xlii. 53, xlv. 2; Strabo, vii. 327; Leake, *Northern Greece*, iii. 342; Bursian, *op. cit.* i. 57; Kromayer, *op. cit.* ii. pp. 237, 268; Ussing, *Griech. Reisen u. Studien*, p. 44.

⁵ Kip, *op. cit.* p. 122.

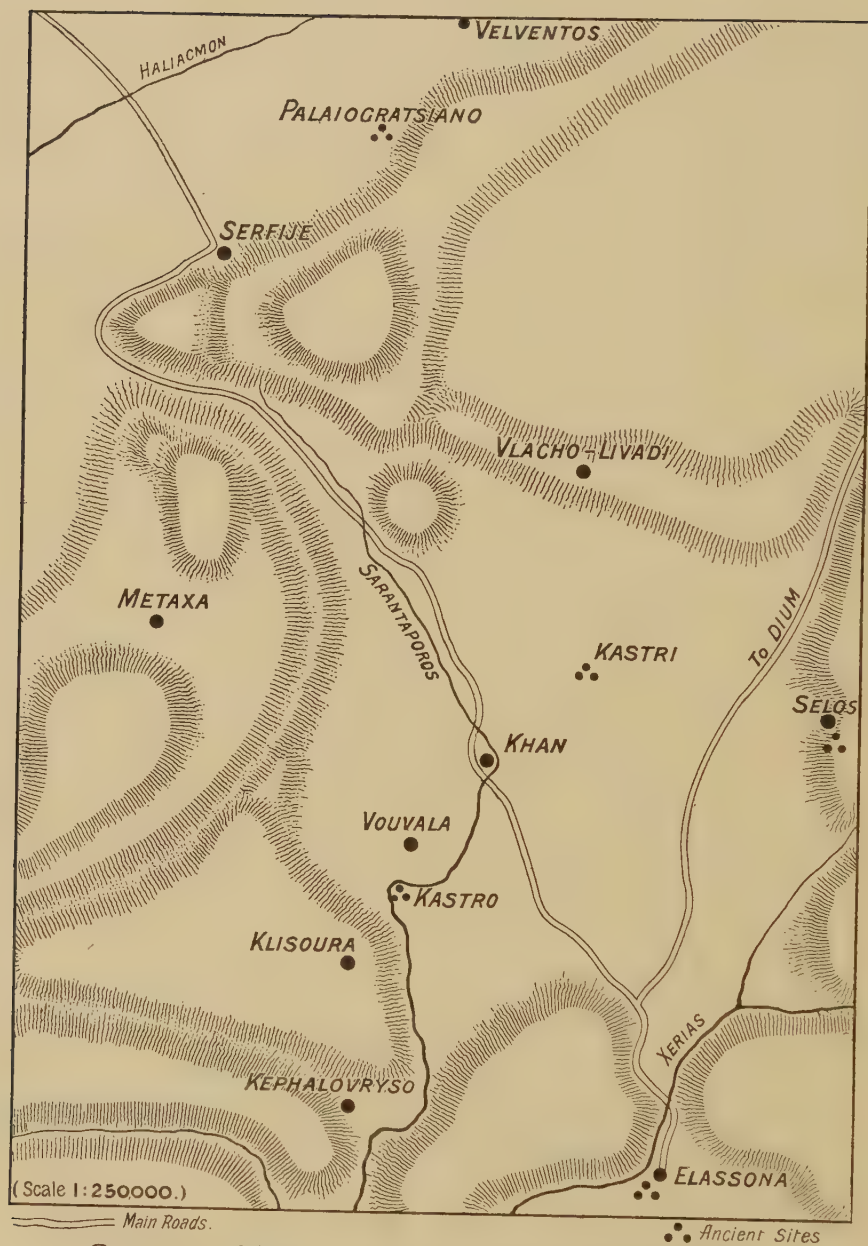
⁶ xlii. 53.

⁷ This pass is identified with that followed by the modern road from Serfje to Ellassona. But there is a track leading over the hills from Vlacho-Livadi towards Velventos.

⁸ xlv. 2.

⁹ Heuzey, *Le Mont Olympe*, pp. 28 ff.

¹⁰ Dittenberger, *Syll.*² 453.



SKETCH MAP OF NORTHERN PERRHAEBIA.

FIG. I.

dispute between the Thessalian city of Mondaia and Azoros. The site of Mondaia is unknown, but if Azoros, a Perrhaebian town, had a boundary dispute with a Thessalian city, it must have been the westernmost town of the Tripolis, and not in the centre. On this evidence we might with Leake, place Azoros at Vouvala, and Doliche at Kastri. This probability is strengthened by the fact that our inscription, which was probably set up in the territory of Doliche, was found about half an hour west of Kastri. We may then assume that on the evidence at present before us, Doliche was at Kastri.

The Perrhaebian Tripolis does not seem to have always been united with the rest of Perrhaebia. A Delphian proxeny decree of the third century B.C. speaks of a man from Pythion as an Elemiotē.¹ An inscription from Samothrace of the second century B.C. mentions a στρατηγὸς Τριπολιτῶν.² Further Livy in one passage³ speaks of *Tripoli aliaque Perrhaebia*. From this it seems that the Tripolis was at all events in a different position from the rest of Perrhaebia, and may at one time have formed part of Elemiotis. To this point we shall return below.

Thus, since the territory of Doliche lay to the south of the Cambunian hills that separate the upper basin of the Sarantaporos from the Haliacmon valley by Serfije, the district round the latter town and Velventos was probably part of Elemiotis in antiquity. Midway between Velventos and Serfije there is one ancient site, the Kastro of Palaeogratsiano.⁴ Here inscriptions have been discovered, and below the small acropolis now crowned with Byzantine ruins, a cemetery of pithos burials (perhaps of the Early Iron Age) has been found. This site Heuzey identified with Phylakai which was in Pieria,⁵ and his identification has been followed by Kiepert, Demitzas, and others⁶ in spite of the geographical improbability that a small part of the Haliacmon basin separated from Pieria proper by the *massif* of Olympus, should have been in antiquity part of Pieria. Our inscription, however, together with Livy's account of Perseus' march in 171 B.C. referred to above, seems to shew that this district was in Elemiotis, and it is thus possible that the Kastro of

¹ *B.C.H.* 1897, p. 112.

² *I.G.* xii. 8, 178.

³ xlii. 67.

⁴ Heuzey, *op. cit.* pp. 216 ff.

⁵ *Ptol.* iii. 13, 40: cf. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* iv. 17.

⁶ Kiepert, *Formae Orb. Ant.* Pl. XVI.; Δημίτζας, *Μακεδονία*, p. 173.

Palaeogratsiano is the site of Elemea. Other topographers, relying on the similarity of the names, have placed it at Velemisti on the Graeco-Turkish frontier between Grevena and Kalampaka. No ancient site has yet been found there, and it seems more probable that the Grevena district was part of Tymphaea rather than of Elemiotis.¹

The boundary line between Doliche and Elemiotis began on the west (if we are right in placing Azoros at Vouvala) at a boundary stone placed on a road above or beyond a place called Geranae. This lay *inter Azzoris* [*et*] *Onoareas et Petraeas* [*in*] *Dolichis* according to the restoration of the text given above. Geranae may have been some small village dependent on Azoros, and Onoareae and Petraeae similar villages belonging to Doliche. It would be tempting to take Onoareae as a village of Azoros and Petraeae only as a village of Doliche, but in this case it would not be easy to restore or construe the text. At all events it is difficult to see what case 'Azzoris' is. In Greek, for the name of this city we have 'Αζωρος, 'Αζώριον, 'Αζωρα and 'Αζώρεια. None of these names in Latin would form an accusative in *is*, which it seems could only represent some plural name ending in *eis* like Σάρδεις, although Greek *ei* seems in this inscription to be transliterated by *e*.² Dolichis, although the Greek name is Δολίχη, might be the ablative of a feminine or neuter plural. Further, if the name Onoareas is incomplete and the letters missing at the end of line 21 belonged to this name, and it was dependent on Azoros, we should have in *inter Azzoris ... Onoareas et Petraeas in Dolichis*, a chiasmus which would be very awkward.³ It is possible that the Roman arbitrator had before him the Greek text of Amyntas' award with the place names in the genitive, and was unable to decline them correctly in Latin. In any case these names seem to be those of small places lying between Azoros and Doliche, which are only mentioned for the purpose of fixing the starting-point of the boundary line. From this point, which we may assume to have been among the hills to the north-west of Vouvala, the boundary ran along the tops of the hills till it reached a plain called Pronomae. This plain, which to judge by its name was pasture land, seems to have been the

¹ Cf. Arrian's (i. 7, 5) account of Alexander's march to Pelinnaeum.

² See above, p. 197, note 4.

³ It could be suggested that Onoareas might be a corruption of Mondaia, or a half Latinised version of a name like 'Ονουπεδίον, but neither of these seems likely. Of course, Azzoris and Dolichis might be the accusative plurals of 'Αζωρεús and Δολιχεús, but as we have seen in this inscription Greek *ei* is rendered by *e*.

disputed territory, for the arbitrator decides that it shall be divided between Elemiotis and Doliche. Amongst the hills to the north-west of Vouvala there is a small upland plain round the village of Metaxa. It is tempting to think that this is the plain Pronomae. This assumption would suit our identification of Kastri as Doliche. From the plain the boundary ran along the hilltops again to some other place, the name of which is lost, and with this the inscription seems to have ended. Examination of the hills along the line suggested might result in the discovery of boundary stones, such as that found marking the boundary between Dium and Oloosson mentioned above, and those found on Taygetos, along the frontier between Messenia and Sparta.¹ Interesting though this inscription is, it does not tell us enough to enable us to pronounce with certainty on any of the points suggested.

Amyntas, the father of Philip, must have been Amyntas III. (390-371 B.C.), the son of Arrhidaeos and the father of Philip II., and the grandfather of Alexander the Great. It might be inferred from our inscription that Amyntas, if he could make a royal award defining the boundary between Elemiotis and Doliche, must have been ruler of Elemiotis² and Tripolis as well as of Macedonia proper, but according to the existing literary sources³ for the early history of Macedonia this does not seem to have been the case. Amyntas, though married to Eurydike the sister of Derdas, the prince of Elemiotis, does not seem to have had real authority over the province, for both he and Derdas appear separately as allies of Sparta in the Olynthian war in 382 B.C.⁴ Amyntas II., his cousin and predecessor, seems to have been murdered by Derdas. This seems to show that at this time Elemiotis was independent of the Macedonian kingdom. It was left for Philip II. to bring these principalities into subjection, and it is recorded that he married Phila, the sister of Derdas, who was presumably the son of the contemporary of Amyntas III. The princely houses of Lynkestis and Elemiotis were not native dynasties, but branches of the Macedonian royal house (Derdas was Amyntas' third cousin once removed) and their relations with one another do not seem to have been very friendly.⁵ We thus see that such literary sources as we

¹ Kolbe, *Ath. Mitt.* 1904, pp. 364 ff.

² Thucydides (ii. 99) says it was a vassal state.

³ See Abel, *Makedonien*, Pauly-Wissowa, s.vv., and Hoffmann, *Die Makedonier*, pp. 157 ff.

⁴ Xenophon, *Hell.* v. 2, 38, 40, 43; 3, 1 ff., 9.

⁵ In this connection we may recall that Archelaos the father of Amyntas II. was attacked by

have, do not agree with the inference to be drawn from this inscription, that Amyntas had authority over Elemiotis and Tripolis. We can only explain this discrepancy by a series of conjectures. Probably at this time the Perrhaebian Tripolis was part of Elemiotis, for we have seen that this is a possibility, and consequently the ruler of Elemiotis would have had authority over Tripolis. Perhaps Derdas died before Amyntas III., and the latter as brother-in-law of the deceased prince became guardian of his son and successor, and as such, exercised royal authority over Elemiotis. It could only have been under such circumstances that Amyntas could have had sufficient power over both Elemiotis and Tripolis to be able to fix a boundary by royal decree. Then after the death of Amyntas, Elemiotis would have become independent again till subdued by Philip II. But these conjectures must be tested by further research.

A. J. B. WACE.

M. S. THOMPSON.

Arrhabaeos of Lynkestis, and Sirrhas of Elemiotis, who was probably the father of Derdas. It should be noted too that when Amyntas III. recovered his kingdom in 383 B.C., two years after he had been driven out by Illyrians apparently under the leadership of a Lynkestian prince, he did so with Thessalian help.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM WESTERN PISIDIA.

THE inscriptions contained in this article were found in the neighbourhood of the Tauros valley in Western Pisidia during the autumn of 1910 by Mr. Nikolas Michael of Adalia, who has kindly forwarded me his copies for publication. They form a substantial addition to the texts found by Mr. Ormerod and myself in that region a few months earlier,¹ though it is disappointing that none of them furnish any topographical information. The discovery of No. 5 at Yerten-Keui tends to confirm the view that this village represents an ancient site. As, on the whole, they present no serious textual problems, it seems sufficient to publish them in minuscules only, noting ligatures where they occur. A classification by subjects has been adopted.

Dedications to Roman Emperors.

1. In a Turkish cemetery (Karatashlar-mezarlik) not far from Tchai-kenar, on a large base.

Αὐτοκράτορι Καί-
σαρι [Τί]τω Αἰλίῳ Ἀδρ[ι]-
ανῶ Ἀντωνεῖνῳ
Εὐσεβ[ε]ῖ Σ[ε]βαστῶ
5 σωτήρι τῆς οἰκουμέ-
νης ἡ βουλὴ καὶ

L. 5, Π; I. 6, ΝΗ.

A commoner form of the titles of Antoninus Pius is that in which Σεβαστός precedes Εὐσεβής²; for this form cf. *C.I.G.* 1617, 3457, 4384.

¹ *B.S.A.* xvi. pp. 105 ff.

² See *C.I.G.*, Index, s.v.; *I.G. ad res Rom. pert.* (= *I.G. Rom.*) i. and iii., Indices.

The Emperor appears as σωτήρ τῆς οἰκουμένης in an inscription found by Bérard at Milyas in E. Pisidia,¹ and sometimes as σωτήρ, or σωτήρ καὶ εὐεργέτης, τοῦ κόσμου.²

2. *Ibid.*; letters '03 high.

Ἐπεὶ τῆς τοῦ κυρί-
ου Αὐτοκράτορος
Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἀν-
τωνείνου [Σε]ουήρου [Σε]-
5 βαστοῦ τ[ύχ]η[ς] καὶ νεί-
κης [καὶ] αἰων[ί]ου δια[μ]ον-
[ῆς] - - - - -
- - - - - Ἀτταλ[ος]
τῆς Ἀρισταίου<ς> καὶ Ἀρ-
10 τέμεις Φιλώτου γυ-
νὴ αὐτοῦ τὸν βωμόν
καὶ τὸ χαλκούργημα
[3 lines erased?]

L. 4: the copy has ΤΩΝΕΝΟΥΟΥΗΡΟΥ; 1. 6: ΚΗΑΙΩΝΟΥΔΙΑΙ//ΙΟΝ (read by the copyist as διὰ βίον). The restoration [Σε]ουήρου seems certain, and the stone will thus refer to Caracalla, and must have been erected after the death of his father Septimius Severus in A.D. 211.³

Many varieties of the opening formula are known: compare ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας καὶ αἰωνίου νίκης (Dittenb. *O.G.I.* 678), ὑπὲρ νείκης καὶ αἰωνίου διαμονῆς (*Id.*, *Syll.*² 932); the present formula occurs in three dedications by the Ξένοι Τεκμόρειοι in Northern Pisidia,⁴ with the addition, on two of the three stones, of καὶ (τοῦ) σύνπαντος αὐτοῦ (αὐτῶν) οἴκου σωτηρίας. We may perhaps restore the phrase in ll. 7 and 8 here, though there seems scarcely to be room unless we omit αὐτοῦ, and possibly it has been intentionally erased.

¹ *B.C.H.* xvi. (1892), p. 436, No. 70 (= *I.G. Rom.* iii. 386). Dedications to M. Aurelius, Commodus, and Septimius Severus containing the same phrase were found at the site, *ibid.* Nos. 71, 73, 74 (= *I.G. Rom.* 387, 388, 389).

² *Op. cit.* iii. 483.

³ For his titles see E. Klebs, *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, s.v. Septimius (Bassianus); for this form cf. *C.I.G.* 3871, *I.G.* iii. 1063, etc.

⁴ Sterrett, *Wolfe Expedition*, Nos. 369, 370, 371 (= *I.G. Rom.* iii. 298, 297, 296); the Emperor's name is not mentioned on any of these stones.

Χαλκούργημα is a rare word, the usual equivalent for a bronze object in inscriptions being χάλκωμα.

3. In a Turkish cemetery (Koushbaba-mezarlik), three hours N.E. of Pogla (mod. Fugla). Dedication to Caracalla (= Ramsay, *A.J.A.* iv. (1888), p. 271, No. 2; *I.G. Rom.* iii. 397).

4. At Euyuk-keui: ¹ columnar *stele* about a metre high (now in use as a roller on the roof of a private house), bearing two separate inscriptions. ²

A.

*Imp. Caess. C[ai]o Aurelio
(V)alerio Diocletiano
Marco Valerio
Maximiano pp. ff.
invictis Augg. et Fla-
vio Valerio Constantio
et Galerio Valerio
Maximiano nobilis-
simis Caess.
Ἡ λαμπρὰ
Τερμηςσέων
[πόλις.]*

L. 2, *ad init.*: GALERIO.

Similar inscriptions are common in Asia Minor, in Latin,³ in Greek,⁴ and in bilingual versions.⁵ The date is between A.D. 293 and 305. If the stone was erected close to where it is now, it might have stood within the boundary of the territories of Termessos, on the road leading to Isinda.

¹ See *B.S.A.* xvi. p. 90.

² Copy of A. revised in 1911 by Messrs. H. A. Ormerod and E. S. G. Robinson, to whom I am also indebted for a squeeze of B., obtained not without difficulty.

³ *E.g.* *C.I.L.* iii. 6895, from Pontus, and a fragment found a few miles to the west of Adalia by Mr. Ormerod in 1911; see below, p. 243, No. 27.

⁴ *E.g.* *I.G. Rom.* iii. 336, from Sagalassos, *C.I.G. add.* 4300 x, from Aperlae; and see *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, iii. p. 145, for an example from Thessaly (not, however, a mile-stone), and other parallels.

⁵ *E.g.* *C.I.L.* iii. 7201, from near Smyrna, *ibid.* iii. 6095 from Tenos.

B.

The *stèle* also contains, apparently, a Latin inscription cut as a palimpsest on an almost undecipherable Greek one. Traces of twelve lines

D·D IN N
 FLCCNSTANTIMEOIC
 MCAYC OYAL
 LITTI
 MICONSTANTINIC
 CONSTANTIN
 EST, ATINW
 F. ONSK NOIN
 TEPMHC
 CAESSSS

remain, but few complete words are legible. Of the Greek text, [Τοῖς ἐπιφανέ]στάτοις in l. 2, Οὐαλ[ερίω] in l. 3, and again in l. 4, and ΤΕΡΜΗC[ΕΩΝ], in l. 11, are alone certain; of the Latin, D[D]NN in l. 1, CONSTANTI[NO?], in l. 2, and again in l. 8, and CAESSSS in l. 12. Perhaps originally a Greek version of A., supplanted by a Latin inscription late in the reign of Constantine,¹ on the occasion of repairing the road from Termessos to Isinda. Many mile-stones from Phrygia have been similarly treated.²

Agonistic Inscriptions.

5. In a Turkish cemetery (Bozburun-mezarlik) near Karibtche, to the E. of Komama. Large base, with letters 0·31 high.

¹ For mile-stones of the time of Constantine, after the association with himself in the Empire of his three sons, Constantine II, Constantius II, and Constans, whose names may be traced here, cf. *C.I.L.* iii. 1976, 464, 477, 7159, 7175, 7185, 7186, 7188, 7197, 7198 (mostly from W. Asia Minor).

² *E.g.* *C.I.L.* iii. 7172, from Hieropolis; and for Phrygian mile-stones see Ramsay, *J.H.S.* viii. 1887, pp. 514 f.; *I.G. Rom.* iv. 600, 601, 750; *C.I.L.* iii. 7168 ff.

Εὐσέβειον
 ἀγῶνα θέμιδο[ς]
 πενταετηρικὸ[ν]
 ἀχθέντα ὑπὸ
 5 Αὐρ. Λόνγου, ἐξ ὑ-
 ποσχέσεως το[ῦ]
 πα[τρ]ῶ[ς] αὐτοῦ,
 Π. Αἰ[λ] Μενεκρά-
 τῆς νε[κ]ήσα[ς]
 10 ἐνδόξως παί-
 δων πάλην.

In l. 7 the reading is doubtful, ΠΑ/////Ο// alone being clear; perhaps we should restore π[α]π[π]ο[ν], and in l. 8 the first and fourth letters are uncertain. We cannot tell from how far this stone has travelled. Another inscription from Karibtche is known,¹ but the village does not seem to represent an ancient site. It is just possible that the founder of these games is connected with M. Αἰμίλιος Λόγγος, who established some games recorded in an inscription from Elles,² to the north of Lake Buldur; but this may be only a coincidence of name,³ and it is extremely unlikely that the two stones refer to the same contest, for the contest previously known was called ἀγὼν θέμιδος Λονγιλλίας.

6. At Yerten-Keui, near the cemetery containing the inscriptions published last year (*B.S.A.* xvi. pp. 117 ff., Nos. 10-12), but discovered since my visit. Letters '027 high.

Σεβείριον ἀγῶνα θέ-
 μιδος ἀχθέντα ὑπ[ὸ]
 Αὐρ. Κορτίου Ἀν[τ]ο-
 νιανοῦ Μάρκου, δι-
 5 μιουργοῦ πρώτου
 καὶ ἀγωνοθέτου ἐ-
 κ τῶν ιδίων, Αὐρ. Ο[ὐ]-
 [λί]βιος Λογγεινιανὸς

¹ *J.H.S.* viii. (1887), p. 257, No. 42; see below, No. 14.

² *Ibid.* p. 260, No. 49.

³ Λόγγος is far from rare.

Λούκις καὶ Αὐρ. Κο-
 10 ἴντος υἱὸς Μάρκου
 Πετρωνίου, νεική-
 σαντες πάλην ἐν-
 δόξως.

A few ligatures: l. 11, NE; l. 12, HE.

The style of the writing, *e.g.* Γ for *sigma*, and the use of ligatures, especially in NE, and also the general arrangement of the wording, bring this stone into close connexion with another agonistic dedication from the same village,¹ which likewise refers to games in honour of an Emperor Severus. I am therefore inclined to attribute this inscription also to the time of Severus Alexander, not of Septimius Severus.

Perhaps we may suppose some relationship to have existed between the persons mentioned on these two stones, for Αὐρ. Οὐείβιος Δογγεινιανὸς Λούκι(ο)ς may be plausibly connected with the Αὐρ. Οὐείβιος Πετρωνιανὸς Λούκιος of the other inscription, and the latter may have been related to the Μάρκος Πετρώνιος of the new stone.

Ll. 4, 5: δ(η)μιουργὸς πρῶτος: the existence of magistrates called *δημουργοί* is known at several cities of this region,² and the title occurs frequently in inscriptions from the Greek mainland and the Aegean islands. In the present instance this particular citizen seems to have been chief of the board of these magistrates.

Unfortunately we are no nearer than before to knowing the name of the ancient city which stood on the site of Yerten-Keui, if indeed there was one; but the case for its existence is strengthened by the discovery of this new dedication.

Other Dedications.

7. In a Turkish cemetery (Mahmutlar-mezarlik) between Zivint and Böyük Ali-Fakhreddin,³ on a base; letters 0.27 high.

¹ *B.S.A. loc. cit.* No. 15.

² At Pogla, *C.I.G.* 4367 g, *I.G. Rom.* iii. 407, 408; at Perge, *C.I.G.* 4342 (= *I.G. Rom.* iii. 796), *C.I.G.* 4342 b³ (= *I.G. Rom.* iii. 794: for a further reference to this stone by Mr. Ormerod, see below, p. 246); at Sillyon, *I.G. Rom.* iii. 800 (and cf. 801, 802, where the holder was a woman); at Aspendos, *I.G. Rom.* iii. 804; at Selge, *I.G. Rom.* iii. 378; at Side, *C.I.G.* 4347.

³ Cf. *B.S.A.* xvi. p. 91 (map).

Ἐξ ὑπόσχέσεως Καλ-
 πουργίου Λικινίου τὸ ἄ-
 γαλμα τῆς Ἀφροδίτης
 ἀνέστησαν οἱ κληρονό-
 5 μοι Λούκιος καὶ Βάσσος
 Καλπούργιοι Λουκίου υἱ[-
 οί, Λικινιανοὶ Γάϊος καὶ
 Καλπούργιος.

Ll. 3 and 4, H.

The names Λικίν(υ)ιος and Λικιν(υ)ιανός are known in this district, the former at Andeda (mod. Andya),¹ the latter at Yerten-Keui.² Βάσσος occurs, apparently as a *nomen*, at the latter site.³ The right division of the names of the κληρονόμοι is not obvious; it seems that the *nomen* of the second pair is written before their *praenomina*.

8. In a Turkish cemetery close to Zivint. Base, apparently cut away below l. 9, so that some lines may be lost (though the inscription seems complete as it is), and damaged at upper r. corner. Letters .027 high.

Ἡ βουλὴ κα[ι]
 ὁ δῆμος ἐτε[ι]μ[ησαν]
 Αὐρ. Μοδεστί[αν]
 Σαβε[ι]ναν τὴν ἀξ[ιο]-
 5 λογωτάτην γυναῖκα
 τοῦ ἀξιολογωτάτου
 Αὐρ. Καλλιστράτου
 οὐετρανοῦ ἀπὸ κορ-
 νουκουλαρίου
 [Incomplete?]

Μοδεστία seems a new name, though Μόδεστα is known (C.I.G. 3921); Σαβεῖνα (*iota* perhaps omitted by copyist) is a common name in Asia Minor, and was probably increasing in popularity in the generations following that of Hadrian. For the Greek version of the rank of Καλλίστρατος we may compare οὐετρανὸς ἀπὸ ὀπτίονος,⁴ and οὐετρανὸς ἀπὸ

¹ B.S.A. p. 122, No. 16, and Λικινία, *ibid.*

² *Op. cit.* p. 116, No. 8.

³ *Op. cit.* p. 117, No. 10.

⁴ I.G. Rom. iii. 1183.

κομενταρηνσίων¹; the orthography of *cornicularius* written in Greek seems to have varied according to taste, for the present form seems new.²

9. At a fountain (Kodja-chesme) close to Pogla (mod. Fugla), on a low statue-base.

Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος
 ἔτε[ι]μῃσε (sic!) Ἀρτειμὸν
 [τ]ὸν καὶ Γάϊον νεανίαν κα-
 λὸν καὶ ἀγαθόν, τὸν δὲ ἀνδ-
 5 ριάρτα ἀνέ(σ)τησεν Γάϊος ὁ π[α]-
 τὴρ αὐτοῦ.

The formula can be exactly paralleled in another inscription from Pogla. Bérard, *B.C.H.* xvi. (1892), p. 423, No. 52 (= *I.G. Rom.* iii. 406).

10. At Koushbaba (near No. 3), in a small panel on a fluted column.

Νέων
 Τερμί-
 λου.

The name Τερμίλας is known at Kormasa and Andeda.³

11. On (or near?) a rock-cut sarcophagus situated between Tchai-Kenar and Zivint, in large letters.

Γαῖου

Cut retrograde, and repeated three times in all.

Inscriptions Previously Published.

I received also copies of the following:—

12. Between Kestel and Koushbaba (built into a bridge). *C.I.G.* 4367 k (= *I.G. Rom.* iii. 398).

¹ *I.G. Rom.* iii. 275.

² For various spellings see *I.G. Rom.* iii. Index, vii. 4; for representative examples of *cornicularii* in Latin inscriptions see Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.*; Willmanns, *Exempla Inscr. Lat.* Index, vii. 5; and, for a recent tabulation of the evidence for these and similar officers, A. von Domaszewski, *Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres* (*Bonner Jahrbücher*, cxvii), pp. 29 ff., and 48, 49 (table).

³ See *B.S.A.* xvi. p. 125, No. 19, and reference *ibid.*; the name is also restored tentatively by Ramsay in an inscription from Limnobia (mod. Buldur), *C.B.* i. p. 338, No. 184 (note 5).

13. At Apayi-Ketchile, in a Turkish cemetery. Ramsay, *A.J.A.* iv. (1888), p. 264, No. 9. In l. 5, copy has *Μαρκιανῆ*, Ramsay *Μαρκία*.

14. At Karibtche. *J.H.S.* viii. p. 257, No. 42.

15. At Ürgüdlü, in the lower Turkish cemetery. Bérard, *B.C.H.* xvi. (1892), p. 419, No. 43.

16. On a tower on the hill-side a few minutes E. of Kekl ijek-Kahve, over the door-way. Partly copied by Cousin, *B.C.H.* xxiv. (1900), p. 332. Combining this with the new copy (read with a glass, and of doubtful accuracy), we have :

[Ε]πιορυγοσταγῆμετο
 Στράβ<ι>ων Ἀπολλων-
 ίου ἐ[κ] Πεισιδίας ἡ
 ἐπαρχίας καθιέ-
 5 ρωσεν εὐτυχῶς.

Line 1 looks disproportionately full, and in any case I prefer not to touch it ; certainty is impossible without a more trustworthy copy.

NOTES AND ADDITIONS TO INSCRIPTIONS PUBLISHED LAST YEAR
 (*B.S.A.* xvi. pp. 105 ff.).

P. 114, No. 6. The name in ll. 2, 3, which I read as *Κουδλαπέμης*, should in all probability be read *Κουαδάπεμης* ; it will fall into the group of Lycian names collected by Kretschmer,¹ ending in *-δάπιμης* (*-δαπιεμης*, *-δατπεμης*), and should consequently be accented proparoxytone.

P. 116, No. 8. L. 13 should perhaps be completed merely as *κ[α]ἰ τ[ῆ] νύμ[φ]ῃ* : i.e. the builder of the sarcophagus adds, as an afterthought, that his *νύμφῃ* (daughter-in-law) may be buried in it as well.² But I am sure that there were no traces of the last two letters visible either on the stone or on my squeeze (of the last portion only) ; perhaps the word was left unfinished.

¹ *Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache*, p. 324 ; for the *Κουα*-element in the name, and its further affinities, see *op. cit.* p. 368.

² As e.g. in two inscriptions on sarcophagi at Olympos in Lycia found by Mr. H. A. Ormerod in 1911 and not yet published, of which he has kindly informed me ; and see Ramsay (and others), *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces* [Aberdeen, 1906], pp. 70, 81, 150, 373 f.

P. 123, No. 18. It is just conceivable that the mysterious letters *πηκυλγευτοαμι* in ll. 12, 13 may represent the nick-name of the first victor; if so, presumably of a non-Hellenic character.¹

P. 126, No. 20. In l. 1 we may restore Πάλλ[ιτος], which occurs in an inscription from Adalia, published below²; and cf. Πιλλάκοος at Termessos.³

ARTHUR M. WOODWARD.

¹ For an example of a male 'nick-name' or *signum* at Side see *I.G. Rom.* iii. 811, l. 12.

For male *signa* taken by women, *ibid.* No. 810, l. 11, and for instances in Latin inscriptions, Mommsen, *Hermes*, xxxvii. (1902), pp. 450 ff.

² Copy shewn by Mr. Nikolas Michael to Mr. H. A. Ormerod, to whom I owe the restoration here suggested; and see p. 242, No. 25.

³ *I.G. Rom.* iii. 447.

NOTES AND INSCRIPTIONS FROM PAMPHYLIA.

I.—TOPOGRAPHY.

THE following notes were made by us on a short journey in Pamphylia during March 1911. It had been our intention on reaching Adalia about the middle of the month to go at once into Lycia, but the lateness of the season made the higher ground impossible, and it seemed better to spend a short time in examining the country in the immediate neighbourhood of Adalia, much of which was still imperfectly known (Fig. 1).

The best description of the Pamphylian plain is that given by Lanckoronski.¹ From the Kestros to the Melas stretches a low-lying, swampy plain, traversed by three great rivers which come down from the Pisidian highlands, feverish in summer, and during the winter months impossible for wheeled traffic.² To the west of the Kestros rises a rocky plateau of travertine some hundred feet above sea-level, on which stands the town of Adalia (Attaleia) on cliffs above the sea, which diminish towards the west. To the north of Adalia rises a third level, which viewed from the south, resembles a high raised beach, running roughly parallel with the present coast as far as the village of Barsak. To the east of that point the hills turn in a north-easterly direction and sink gradually down towards the Kestros. The western part of the plateau is crossed by two main roads, leading respectively to Istanos and Buldur. The central and

¹ *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*, i. p. 2; cf. also Davies, *Anatolica*, p. 202.

² The *chaussée*, which once ran from Adalia to the Eurymedon, is useless beyond the Kestros, and a side-track is now followed. Our ride to Manavgat beyond the Eurymedon was for the first part through standing water.

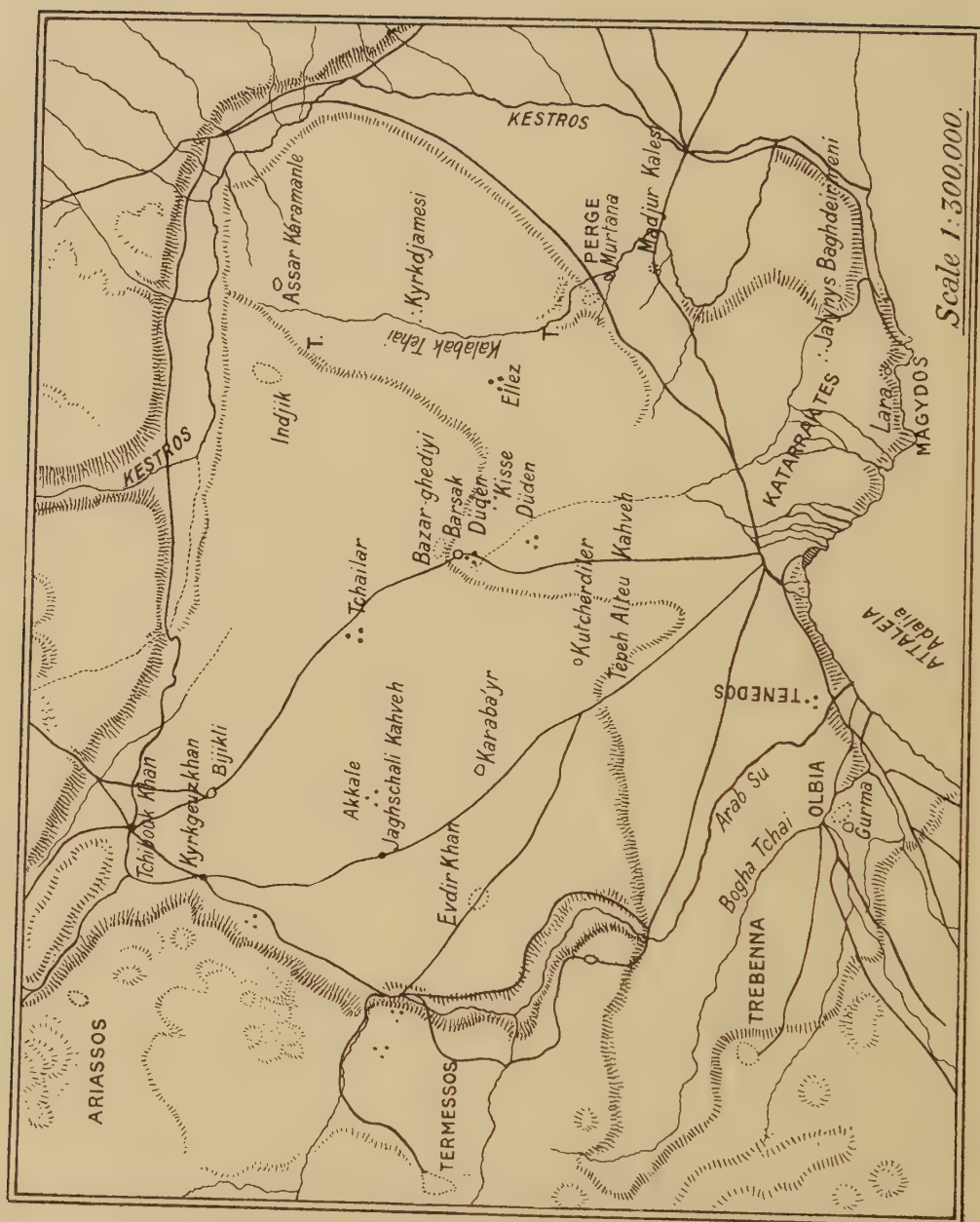


FIG. 1.—SKETCH MAP SHEWING SITES (after Lanckoronski, *op. cit.*)

eastern parts were previously a blank on the map. At the present day the plateau is thinly inhabited and in summer almost deserted. Water is scarce and for the most part derived from cisterns.¹ The ground is rocky, but at intervals appear pockets of rich earth, and to judge from the size of the three ancient sites at Evdir Khan, above Barsak, and at Indjik, the district was able to support a considerable number of inhabitants, whose chief resources probably depended on the cultivation of the olive.² The whole of the western half of the Pamphylian plain is strewn with late and mediaeval remains. Many of these are quite small and unimportant, and are merely hamlets or even farm-buildings, of which a brief mention will suffice.

Bazar-ghediyi örenlik and Neighbourhood.

The village of Barsak lies some two hours to the north of Adalia in a bay formed by two promontories jutting out from the main line of the ridge. The village itself is a poor one and consists of scattered groups of rude huts at the foot of the ridge. On the slope of the ridge itself have been hollowed small dwellings of elliptical shape with a low entrance and hole above for the escape of smoke. Many of these are still inhabited; how old they may be, it is impossible to say. The village mosque stands close to the *düden*, beside which are also the remains of a small Roman structure, among which lies the inscription *C.I.G.* 4341 b.³ Rock-cut steps lead down to the water-level in the *düden*, in which are the ruins of a small church, called by the Adaliotes H. Stephanos.

To the south, near the second *düden*, is a small village-site called Areluk. The remains are of a late character; one building seemed to be

¹ At the foot of the plateau in the neighbourhood of Barsak the Katarraktes appears twice for a short distance in two deep *düden*. In both cases the level of the water is some distance below the level of the plain. There is a considerable volume of water which rushes with great force from the foot of the rock and disappears after a short distance.

² We would suggest that the name of the village Ellez, to the east of Barsak, is derived from *ἐλαίαις*, though Ramsay (*A.J.A.* 1837, p. 368) derives the name, which occurs elsewhere, from Elyes or Ilyes, a corruption of Elias. A similar name is perhaps concealed in the inscriptions at Bazar-Ghediyi (Nos. 8, 10).

The remains of oil-presses are not infrequent in the district; at Ellez some fine olive-trees are to be seen, and Mr. G. A. Keun, H.B.M. Vice-Consul at Adalia, drew our attention to the stumps of an old olive-grove near Karaba'yr.

³ 'In planitie Attaliae, supra portam aedificii; misit Schönbornius' The inscription now lies fallen and is broken on the left. We read *Σατορνεί*Λος in l. 1, for Schönborn's *Σατορνεί*Δος. In l. 2 read *ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ κατεσκευάσθη*. There is no gap in the word *μάνδρας*, although the line is now incomplete after the letters ΜΑΝΔΙ///. There were traces of a third line much worn.

a church of some size. A few sarcophagi were seen, consisting of oblong pits sunk in the rock with the normal pointed lid. An inscription had been reported to us, but had been recently removed to build the mill down in the *düden*, and could not be seen. To the north of the *düden* are to be seen ancient wheel-ruts in the rock. Two similar sites may be noted in the neighbourhood: at Kissé, about thirty minutes E.S.E. of Barsak, where are a large cistern and a small group of buildings, the foundations of which were built of large squared blocks, one of which was inscribed with a cross; and at Ellez, one hour further to the east, which contained similar buildings, and the remains of a small oil-press. All the above remains are situated in the plain at the foot of the ridge which forms the third level of the Pamphylian plain.

Immediately above the village of Barsak is the ancient site now known as Bazar-ghediyi örenlik. The ascent from the village is steep, the principal approach from the south being a narrow path leading up to a gateway cut in the rock, on either side of which is carved a cross. The site itself lies in a slight depression and is surrounded by a low natural wall of rock on all sides but one, the ground falling away slightly towards the north-west. Nearly all the buildings are of a late character similar to those at Evdir Khan,¹ with the exception of two funereal monuments consisting of sarcophagi, standing under a blind archway built of squared blocks, and the small tower (Fig. 2) containing the inscriptions Nos. 8–10, which was originally built in the reign of Domitian. The building stands at the western end of the site and is at present six courses high. In ground-plan it is almost square, the outside measurements being 6.15 m. (the inscribed face) $\times$ 5.65 m. The inscriptions are cut on the southern face.² At right angles to this face runs a wall of later date, close against which stood three large square bases. They were too heavy for us to move and we could not tell whether the concealed faces contained inscriptions. The majority of the sarcophagi seen stood on the slope towards the north-west. The site to-day is almost entirely waterless and for making impressions of inscriptions we were dependent on rain-water collected in some of the sarcophagi. Two large circular cisterns were dry.

At Tchailar about an hour to the north-west of Bazar-ghediyi is

¹ *v.* Spratt and Forbes, i. p. 228.

² The name of the site, which seems to have been a *κώμη* dependent on Perge, is discussed below p. 230.

another small mediaeval site, the masonry of which is all of a late character and similar to that at Bazar-ghediyi and Evdir Khan. The principal remains are a small fortress, an apsidal building with narthex, and two circular cisterns. To the north-east are a few sarcophagi, none of which however, were inscribed.

It is convenient to mention here a small rectangular mediaeval building, called Ak-kale, about three-quarters of an hour to the east



FIG. 2.—TOWER WITH INSCRIPTIONS NOS. 8-10 AT BAZAR-GHEDIYI ÖRENLIK.

of Jagdschali Kahveh on the mainroad between Karaba'yr and Kyrkgeuz. Materials of an earlier date, squared blocks and the remains of an oil-press seem to have been used in the building.

Indjik.

To the east of Barsak the escarpment of the third level of the Pamphylian plain turns in a north-easterly direction. Between this ridge and the Kestros is a small plateau drained by the Kalabak Tchai, which

risers near the village of Assar-Karamanle at the foot of the ridge, and running in a southerly and south-easterly direction, reaches the lowest level at Perge. Half an hour to the west of Assar-Karamanle and above the ridge is a widely extended site beside the deserted village of Indjik.¹ The ruins are mainly of a late character and are widely extended on either side of a small valley running (roughly) north and south. On the eastern side of the valley rises a low acropolis thickly overgrown with scrub, in which a few columns are to be seen and remains of buildings constructed with squared blocks. The thickness of the scrub, however, at this point made a more careful search difficult. A spring of good water, for which a small square basin had been built, rises in the valley itself. The water of both this and of another spring at the southern end of the site, was plentiful and cool at the end of July.

The ground to the east of the valley was also thickly covered with trees and shrubs, which here seemed to have suffered less from the fire. The majority of buildings in this neighbourhood were of late character, being built of small stones and mortar. Amongst them we noted the remains of two oil-presses and several large cisterns, together with the built tomb containing the inscription No. 14, under the porch of which stands the sarcophagus with inscription No. 15. The masonry of the tomb resembles that of the buildings described above, and the whole is similar to the built tombs common at Olympos in Lycia.

On the western side of the valley are the fallen remains of a small Ionic heroön, the architrave of which bears the inscription No. 23. Among the remains lies a fragment of a small pediment with a Triton carrying a shield.

Remains of a similar building lie in the valley a short distance to the south, above which stands the small group of sarcophagi with the inscriptions Nos. 17-20.

The site is of very wide extent and although three visits were made, we cannot be sure that we have seen the whole of it. The buildings, to which a Roman date can definitely be assigned, are all grouped in the neighbourhood of the acropolis and the small valley. At a later date, the

¹ We were told that the inhabitants of Assar-Karamanle had formerly lived at Indjik but deserted the site some ten years ago when the village was destroyed by fire. The ancient site itself has suffered much, many of the inscriptions on sarcophagi standing to the N.W. of the site having been completely obliterated.

town, which was unprotected by walls, seems to have been extended towards the north and north-west. Thus, for example, at the north-west are the ruins of a large apsidal building, probably a Byzantine church, beside which is a large block containing an astragalos inscription, to be published elsewhere.¹ The main burying-ground lay also to the north, where a number of sarcophagi were to be seen, most of them badly damaged by fire.

If our restorations of inscriptions Nos. 20, 23 are correct, the town during the Roman period seems to have been dependent on Perge,² from which a road followed the course of the Kalabak Tchai to Indjik. About forty minutes to the south of Indjik are the remains of a small tower built of carefully squared and rusticated blocks near the right bank of the stream at the foot of the ascent to the upper level. The road must have crossed the stream shortly below this point and some thirty minutes later reaches a small village-site at Kyrkdjamesi, a few minutes from the left bank of the stream. Here is a mosque and small hamlet beside a spring, into which ancient blocks have been built. In the neighbouring thicket are traces of low walls and a few sherds of late date with two uninscribed bases. The inscription No. 11 stands in front of one of the modern houses. About ten minutes to the east of the mosque are the ruins of an arched structure, into which had been built the two fragmentary inscriptions Nos. 12, 13. Not far away, in the wood, are two uninscribed sarcophagi.

About an hour-and-a-half below Kyrkdjamesi is another tower, similar to that described above, close to the stream and on the right bank. It seems probable therefore, as we have said, that these remains mark the line of the road leading up the stream from Perge to Indjik.

The Coast near Adalia.

Before finally leaving Adalia we made a short expedition to the east as far as Lara (Magydos). The best description of the site is that given by Beaufort.³ The ruins on the shore are all of late date; we saw, however,

¹ In the forthcoming number of *J.H.S.* (xxxii. 2).

² This was perhaps the case with the greater part of the plateau, cf. the inscriptions from Bazar-ghediyi, Nos. 1-10. At Tchibukkan, Rott (*Kleinasiatische Denkmäler*, p. 360, No. 51) copied an inscription with the formula $\tau\hat{\omega}\ \iota\epsilon\rho\omega\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\rho\ \tau\alpha\mu\epsilon\omega$ - - καὶ τῇ Περγῶν Ἀ[ρτέμει]. We have, however, argued below (p. 224) that with the decline of Perge the site at Indjik rose into greater importance during the Byzantine period.

³ *Karamanian Coast*,² p. 139; cf. also Lanckoronski, i. p. 19. Beaufort has a good description of the ancient watercourse leading down to the shore, 'which by the continual

some tombs of an interesting character. One of these was a rock-cut underground chamber situated in a field that sloped towards the shore. It was approached apparently by a short dromos which had been filled in when the tomb was finally closed, and had been recently excavated by the villagers. Within was a small rectangular chamber, 2.20 m. broad by 2.15 m. deep, with a slightly arched roof, the greatest height being *c.* 2.10 m. Off three sides opened small arched bays, about a metre deep, each with a low dividing wall in front, *c.* 60 m. high, and with a shallow ledge behind formed by a set-back in the back wall, on a level with the top of the dividing wall in front. The interior arrangement of each bay thus provided a separate burial-pit, formed by the low dividing wall and back-ledge, which could if necessary be covered over, though we found no trace of any lid. Two of the arches were decorated above with a maeander and egg-and-dart pattern of a degenerate type, which was, however, much encrusted with stalactite and very friable. The floor of the tomb was paved with mosaic which, when cleared, proved to be well preserved. The decoration of this was a degenerate form of lotus pattern.

A second tomb seen at Lara was arranged on a similar principle, except that it contained five burial places. In the bay opposite the entrance a second pit had been hollowed out behind the first. In the bay to the left the cavity had been prolonged in the direction away from the entrance to form a fifth burying place.

To the north of Lara a rock-cut road runs for a short distance, with artificial caves excavated on either side, which are of small dimensions and were probably used for burial purposes. It is probable, though through lack of time we were unable to follow the road at Lara for any distance, that this road is the continuation of the ancient road further to the north which we had previously found, close to the mill at Jalynys Baghdeirmeni, on the southern bank of the Jalynys Baghgiölu, a small lake which is said to disappear in the early summer. Near the mill is a deep cutting in the rock called Ghiaour Yolu running (roughly) north and south, and leading

deposition of sediment has actually crept upwards in the shape of a wall. This self-made aqueduct is in some places nearly three feet high: the substance is a light porous stone and contains small pieces of petrified seed and stick.' It is possible to see such aqueducts in the actual process of formation at the present day. A shallow canal is cut for irrigation, the sides of which are banked with low ridges of turf, which become encrusted with the deposit from the water as the stream overflows. The deposit from the stream is thus continually raising the level of its course, until further progress is checked and a new channel has to be cut.

On the quality of the water of the Katarraktes *v.* Spratt and Forbes, i. p. 219.

down to the shore of the lake. The cutting can be traced for a little more than a hundred paces and leads over the crest of a low hill. It is some six metres broad and shows deep wheel-ruts, the space between which measures 1·10 m. Near the southern end of the cutting are small round sinkings on either side of the road connected with the 'ruts,' to carry off water. At this point the road ran more or less across the level top of the hill; to the north, the water would naturally be carried away by the slope towards the lake. In the deepest part of the cutting there is inscribed on the eastern face ὅροι [τ]ετραπυργι[ῶ]ν, on the western face Λιμνῶν ὅροι.¹ It is possible that the name Limnae is to be given to a place situated in swampy ground some twenty minutes to the west, where are to be seen a few worked blocks and three uninscribed bases. In a neighbouring cemetery are fragments of unfluted granite columns.

The topography of Western Pamphylia² presents only a few difficulties, the position of the majority of the larger sites having been fixed with some certainty.³ Of the list in Hierokles uncertainty attaches only to the names δῆμον Καναύρα, Ἰοβία, Θερμεσσὸς καὶ Εὐδοκία. Of the three last Ramsay⁴ treats Ἰοβία and Εὐδοκία as mere epithets of Termessos, the city boasting the title *Jovia et Eudocias*. From the evidence of the *Notitiae* and council-lists Rott⁵ argues that Eudokias was a separate bishopric, and that it displaced Jovia as the name of the ruins at Evdir Khan, to which Ramsay had assigned the name Trebenna, a site now fixed

¹ *v.* below, No. 29 *a*, *b*.

² We have throughout used *Pamphylia* in the narrower sense as referring to the maritime plain. On the wider extent of the Byzantine province *v.* Ramsay, *H.G.* pp. 415, etc.

³ The position of Olbia above the village of Gurma is marked as doubtful by Kiepert. The nature and position of the site however agree closely with Strabo's description (p. 667). Μετὰ Φασήλιδα δ' ἔστιν ἡ Ὀλβία, τῆς Παμφυλίας ἀρχή, μέγα ἔρυμα. The hill above Gurma, which is really a small detached ridge with four peaks, is of great natural strength. The easiest ascent is from the south-west, where the site is defended by a wall built of loose, irregular stones. On the two middle peaks are fragments of good 'Hellenic' masonry (at one point standing to a height of seven courses), rock-cut steps and Hellenic sherds. At the foot of the ridge to the south-east are the remains of later buildings. The δῆμον Οὐλίμβος of Hierokles is interpreted by Ramsay as a corruption for δῆμον Ὀλβιανῶν (*A.J.A.* iv. p. 8), a view which is almost certainly correct, although Lanckoronski (i. p. 8) treats Oulimbos as a different place and reads Ὀλβία for Hierokles' Ἰοβία.

The χωρίον Τένεδος mentioned by the Stadiasmus (cf. Apollodorus *ap.* Steph. Byz.) as being twenty stades to the west of Attaleia is probably to be placed on the left bank of the Arab Su. The ruins are for the most part mediaeval (*v.* Spratt and Forbes, i. p. 216), but in front of the modern church of the Panagia are five ancient columns. The stone bearing the inscription No. 27. (*temp.* Diocletian) is now used as the doorstep of the *Kahveh*. It may mark the line of the road from Attaleia into Lycia by way of the Klimax or of the Tchandyr valley.

⁴ *Ath. Mitt.* x. p. 343; *H.G.* p. 420.

⁵ *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler*, p. 80; cf. Woodward, *B.S.A.* xvi. p. 79.

further to the south-west.¹ If Eudokias is to be regarded as a separate bishopric, its position in the *Notitiae* between Attaleia and Termessos² exactly suits the situation of the ruins at Evdir Khan on the road leading from Adalia to the Yenidje Boghaz below Termessos.

The town called by Hierokles *δήμον Καναύρα*, a name which appears in various forms in the *Notitiae*,³ from its position in Hierokles' list would seem to have been situated in the Pamphylian plain. In the *Notitiae*, however, it is mentioned among the cities of the Milyas. Ramsay⁴ accordingly thinks that the site is to be sought in the neighbourhood of the pass from the Pamphylian plain to the uplands of Pisidia and suggests that the name is to be given to the small group of ruins near Kyrkgeuz. With the exception of *Not.* vii. and *Not.* iii. the town is invariably mentioned by the *Notitiae* between Pednelissos and Ariassos.⁵ We would therefore suggest that the name is to be given to the widely extended ruins at Indjik,⁶ the position of which satisfies the requirements both of Hierokles and of the *Notitiae*, as being situated in the Pamphylian plain, and being mentioned by the *Notitiae* between Pednelissos and Ariassos. The site of Ariassos has been fixed by epigraphic evidence near Badem-aghatch at the top of the pass leading from the Pamphylian plain to the Pisidian uplands.⁷ Pednelissos is now placed by Kiepert⁸ to the north-east above

¹ *v.* Lanckoronski, ii. p. 78, and inscr. Nos. 223-4.

² So *Not.* vii. In the later *Notitiae* Magydos is inserted between Attaleia and Eudokias.

³ (τον) Δικιταναύρων (*Not.* vii. *Not.* de Boor), Δικιτανάβρων (*Not.* viii.), Κιτανναύρων (*Not.* ix.), Δικιστανάβρων (*Not.* i.), Ἀδικηταναύρων (*Not.* iii. x. *Not.* ap. Gelzer, *Abh. der k. k. Akad. der Wiss.*, xxi. *Abt.* iii. p. 549), Ἀδείας Ταναύρων (*Not.* xiii.).

⁴ *Ath. Mitt.* x. p. 343.

⁵ *Not.* vii.

Not. ix. *et cett.*

τὸν Πελτινησσοῦ

ὁ Πελτινησσοῦ

Ἀρησασοῦ

Κιτανναύρων

Πουγλῶν

Ἀριασσοῦ

Ἀδριάνης

Πουγλῶν [*om.* *Not.* viii.]

Δικηταναύρων

Ἀδριάνης

Ξανθίδων.

Ξανθίδων.

In the late *Not.* iii. the name Ariassos is misplaced.

⁶ This suggestion is not inconsistent with the view previously expressed (p. 221) that the site at Indjik during the Roman period belonged to the territory of Perge, which during the Byzantine period seems to have lost its importance (*v.* Ramsay, *H.G.* p. 420). The nature of the ruins at Indjik proves the site to have been an important one during the Byzantine period.

v. Bérard, *B.C.H.* xvi. p. 426.

⁸ Pednelissos was placed conjecturally by Hirschfeld at Syrt (*Berl. Sitzungsber.*, 1875, p. 125). Ramsay (*A.J.A.*, 1888, p. 272), however, argues from the position of the town in Hierokles and the *Notitiae* that it is to be sought in the western part of the province Pamphylia, and with this view the evidence of the coin-types is in agreement. (Cf. Hill, *B.M. Coins, Lycia, etc.* ciii.)

the middle course of the Kestros. The mention by the *Notitiae* of Dikitanavra between Pednelissos and Ariassos, if it lay on the edge of the highest level of the Pamphylian plain near the point where the Kestros enters the Pamphylian plain, is therefore a natural one, although Hierokles more correctly mentions the town among the cities of the plain.

II.—INSCRIPTIONS.

1. Bazar-ghediyi örenlik. On the end of a sarcophagus. Letters '04 m.

ΕΡΜΑΙΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ ΕΡΜΑΙΩ
ΔΙΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ ΤΩ ΚΑΙ ΘΕΟΔΟΤΙΑΝΩ
ΤΩ ΥΙΩ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΟΝΙ ΤΟΥ ΤΑΓΜΑΤΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΝ
ΠΕΡΓΗ ΓΕΡΟΥΣΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΟΝΤΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΓΕΡΟΥΣΙΑΣ
5 ΥΠΕΡΙΕΡΘΥΝΗΣ ΔΙΑ ΒΙΟΥ ΔΗΝΑΡΙΑ ΕΞΑΚΟ
ΣΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΡΚΙΑ ΑΡΤΕΙΜΟΛΗΟΥΣ ΤΗΣ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΙΑΥ
ΤΟΥ ΙΕΡΕΙΑ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΟΣ ΔΙΑ ΒΙΟΥ ΜΕΤΑ ΔΕ ΚΑ
ΤΑΤΓΩ ΙΛΙΤΗΝ ΜΑΡΚΙΑΝ ΚΑΤΑΚΟΡΑΚΩΘΗ
ΝΑΙΑΥΤΟΥ ΠΟΤΩΝ ΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΑΝΑΥΤΗΣ
10 ΕΙΔΕΤΙΣ ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΠΤΩΜΑ ΚΑΤΑΘΗΑΙ ΕΣΤΩ
ΥΠΟΠΡΟΣΤΕΙΜΟΣ ΤΩ ΚΟΙΝΩ ΙΔΙΩ ΤΑΜΕΙΩ ΔΗ
ΝΑΡΙΟΙΣ ΧΕΙΛΙΟΙΣ ΠΕΝΤΑΚΟΣΙΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΟΕΝ
ΔΕΙΞΑΜΕΝΟΣ ΛΗΨΕΤΑΙ ΤΟ ΤΡΙΤΟΝ ΟΥ
ΠΡΟΣΤΕΙΜΟΥ

Ἑρμαῖος Ἀπολλωνίου Ἑρμαίου Ἑρμαίῳ
δὶς Ἀπολλωνίου τῷ καὶ Θεοδοτιανῷ
τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ ὄντι τοῦ τάγματος τῆς ἐν
Πέργῃ γερουσίας καὶ δόντος τῇ γερουσίᾳ
5 ὑπὲρ ἱερ(ω)σύνης διὰ βίου δηνάρια ἑξακό-
σια, καὶ Μαρκίᾳ Ἀρτειμολήους τῇ γυναικὶ αὐ-
τοῦ ἱερείᾳ Δήμητρος διὰ βίου. Μετὰ δὲ κα-
τατ[εθῆνα]ι τὴν Μαρκίαν κατακορακωθῆ-
ναι αὐτὸ ὑπὸ τῶν κληρονόμων αὐτῆς.

Radet (*Rev. Arch.* 1893, p. 193) places the site in the neighbourhood of Tchandyr near the Pambuk-ovasi, such a position exactly suiting Polybius' narrative of the campaign of Garsyeris (v. 72 *segg.*) The mention of Pednelissos in Strabo (p. 667) can hardly be considered to conflict with this view. If the words *ὑπερκεῖται Ἀσπένδου* are to be interpreted strictly, the site should be looked for between Aspendos and Selge. (We have to thank Mr. J. G. C. Anderson for the reference to Radet's work.)

10 εἰ δέ τις ἕτερον πτώμα καταθῆται ἔστω
ὑποπρόστειμος τῷ κοιριακῷ (sic) ταμείῳ δη-
ναρίοις χειλίοις πεντακοσίοις, καὶ ὁ ἐν-
δειξάμενος λήνψεται τὸ τρίτον τοῦ
προστέιμου.

L. 2. On the alternative name, introduced by τῷ καὶ ν. Ramsay, *C.R.* 1898, p. 338.

L. 4. δόντος, in spite of the syntax, refers presumably to the younger Ἐρμαῖος.

For the γερουσία at Perge ν. *C.I.G.* iii. *add.* 4342 b.²

L. 8. The word κατακορακόω, referring to the closing of the sarcophagus, is found in the uncompounded form at Hierapolis,¹ and is in common use on the present site.² We found the word also in an inscription at Adalia.³ Rott⁴ found at Solak near Perge a fragment of a sarcophagus with the inscription:—

καὶ βούλομαι μετὰ τὸ ἀποτεθῆναι
τὴν μητέρα μου κορα - - -

which is to be restored κορα[κωθῆναι, and supports the reading suggested in l. 8:

μετὰ δὲ κα-
τατ[εθῆνα]ι τὴν Μαρκίαν κ.τ.λ.

In l. 11 κοιριακῷ is a misspelling of κυριακῷ (cf. No. 4). The I seems to have been added later to an original κοριακῷ. The κυριακὸν ταμείον is mentioned in an inscription of Termessos⁵; cf. τῷ κυρίου Καίσαρος ταμείῳ at Seraidjik in Lycia,⁶ κυριακὸς φίσκος at Aphrodisias Cariae.⁷

2. *Ib.* On the end of a sarcophagus. Letters '04 m.

ΚΙΛΛΗΜΟΟΥΕΑΥΤΗΚΑΙΝΟΤΗ()
ΚΑΙΜΟΑΤΟΙΣΤΕΚΝΟΙΣΜΟΝΟΙΣ

Κίλλη Μόου ἐαυτῇ καὶ Κοτήφ (?)
καὶ Μόα, τοῖς τέκνοις μόνοις.

¹ *C.I.G.* 3919, l. 8; 'κορακοῦν est claudere' (Franz). For κόραξ (= *refagulum*) cf. Pollux, vii. 26. ² Ἦν Ὁμηρος κοράνην λέγει νῦν κόρακα καλοῦσι.

³ Nos. 4, 5, 6 (?).

⁴ No. 26.

⁵ *Keinasiatische Denkmäler*, p. 366, No. 68.

⁶ *B.C.H.* xxiii. p. 178, No. 32.

⁷ Petersen, *Reisen* ii. No. 182.

⁸ *C.I.G.* 2827 2842

Above the inscription is a female head of poor work, with a boy's head on either side. The owners of the tomb are mentioned again in Nos. 8 and 9 (*q. v.*).

3. *Ib.* On a fragment of a broken sarcophagus.

ΔΗΝΑΡΙΟΙΣ ΧΕΙΛΙΟΙΣ ΠΙΝΕΙ ΛΑΒΟΥΣΙΟΙΣ
ΟΕΝΔΕΙΞΑΜΕΝΟΣ ΑΛΗΨΕΤΑΙ ΤΟ ΤΡΙΤΟΝ ΤΟΥ
ΠΡΟΣΤΕΙΜΟΥ

δηναρίοις χειλίοις [π]ευ[τακοσ]ίοις.
ὁ ἐνδειξάμενος λήνψεται τὸ τρίτον τοῦ
προστέιμου.

4. *Ib.* On the end of a broken sarcophagus. Letters '035 m.

ΑΜΦΟΤΕΡΟΙΣ ΟΙΣ
ΚΩΘΗΝΕΤΟ ΑΝΓΕΙΟΝ
ΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΩΝ ΜΥΕΝΤΟΣ ΗΜΕ
ΡΩΝ ΠΕΝΤΕΕΑΝΔΕΜΗ ΚΑΤΑΚΟΡΑ
ΚΩΣΟΥΣΙ ΘΗΣΟΥΣΙ ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΚΥΡΙΑΚΟΝ
ΤΑΜΕΙΟΝ * Β Φ

ἀμφοτέροις - - - - [κατακορα-
κωθῆνε (sic) τὸ ἀνγείον [ὑπὸ τῶν
κληρονόμων μ(ο)ν ἐντὸς ἡμε-
ρῶν πέντε· εἰ δὲ μὴ κατακορα-
κώσουσι, θήσουσι εἰς τὸ κυριακὸν
ταμεῖον (δηνάρια) β φ'.

5. *Ib.* On panel of a broken sarcophagus. Letters '04 m.

ΒΟΥΛΟΜΕ ΚΑΤΑΚΟΡ/////////
ΑΝΓΕΙΟΝ ΥΠΟΤΩΝ ΚΛΗΡΟΝΟ
ΜΩΝ ΜΟΙ ΕΝΤΟΣ ΗΜΕΡΩΝ
ΤΕΣΣΑΡΩΝ ΕΑΝΔΕΜΗ/////////

βούλομε (sic) κατακορ[ακωθῆναι τὸ (?)
ἀνγείον ὑπὸ τῶν κληρονό-
μων μοι (sic) ἐντὸς ἡμερῶν
τεσσάρων, εἰ δὲ μὴ - - - -

6. *Ib.* Small fragment probably of a sarcophagus. Letters '04 m.

Ι ΑΡΑ
ΑΜΙΟΝ
ΓΟΚΑΤΑ
ΑΣΚ

In l. 3 perhaps αὐτ]ὸ κατα[κορακωθήναι. Cf. Nos. 1, 4, 5.

7. *Ib.* On the end of a sarcophagus. Letters '04 m.

ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟ ΣΑΤΤΑ
Υ ΖΩΝΕΑ ΩΚΑΙΤΟΙ
ΝΟΙΣΑΥΤΟΥΜΝΗΜΗΣ

Ἀρτεμίδωρος Ἀττά-
λο]υ ζῶν ἑα[υτ]ῷ καὶ τοῖ[s]
τέκ]νοις αὐτοῦ μνήμης
[χάριν].

The face of the stone seems to have been much worn before the inscription was cut. In l. 4 there was no trace of our restoration [χάριν], but some such word is demanded and the face of the stone was much worn at this point.

8-10. *Ib.* The three following inscriptions are engraved on seven blocks of the small quadrangular tower described above (p. 218, *v.* Fig. 2). Nos. 8 and 9 are inscribed on the fourth course from the bottom, No. 8 extending over the first four blocks from the left, No. 9 being on the fifth. No. 10 is inscribed on the third and fourth blocks from the left in the course below. The inscriptions face south, that is towards the sea, and the surface is at many points badly weathered. In a number of places there seem to have been flaws in the stone before the inscriptions were engraved. We had some difficulty in copying the inscriptions in the upper course as they were above our heads, and accordingly made a second visit to the site, after comparing our first copies with the impressions in Adalia. Many points however still remain unsatisfactory. We have to thank Mr. Woodward for much help in the revision of the impressions and Mr. Tod for various suggestions.

a.		b.		c.		d.	
ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ	ΤΟΡΙΚΑΙΣ	ΑΡΙΤΡ	ΑΙΑΝ	ΘΑΔΡΙΑ	ΘΣΕΒΑΣΤΩ	ΚΑΙΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΥΡΕΤΩΝ	
ΜΟΥΑ ΣΣΤΑ	ΣΙΟΥΤΡΟΚΟ	ΔΟΥΛΩ	ΚΑΙΡΥΡΟΝΩΝΑΠΟΛ	Ω Η ΜΟΥ		ΣΤΟΝΗΣΣΕ ΗΣΧΡΟΝΟΝ	ΙΙCΝ
ΤΟΠΩ ΒΑΙΩ	ΚΑΙΧΩΡΑΣΕΝΑ·ΕΛΕΑΤ		ΚΑΙΜΟΣΧΑΣΕΣΕΛΕΩΝΤΟΠΩΤΙ·ΙΝ			ΕΛΕΑΙΣΚΑΙΑΛΛΩΤ	ΙΝ
ΠΡΟΣΚΑΛΛΙΚ	ΛΗΔΟΣΑΡΜΑΚΑΜ·ΤΑ ΕΤΗ		ΝΤΕΛΕΥΗΝΗ ΜΗΡC	ΠΟΛ	ΙΩΘΕ	ΩΑΠΟΛΛΟΝΙΑ ΕΩΤΩΝΕΦΩ	ΑΕ
5 ΑΙΡΟΥΜΕΝΟΙΚ	ΩΜΑΡΧΑΙΠΡΟΝC ΞΙ ΣΙΠ		ΩΣΜΙΣΘΟΥΝΑΙΤΑΤΡΟ Λ	ΚΑΙΗ		ΑΠΑΥΤ ΤΟΚΑΤΕΝΙΑΥΤΟΠΙΡΟ	ΟΔΟΣ
ΧΩΡΗΕΙΣΤΕ	ΘΥΣΙΑΣΤΟΥΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ		ΚΑΙΑΓΟΡΑΣΜΟΝΟΙΝΟΥΚΑΙΑ ΤΩΝΙΣΤΟ			ΑΓΕΣΘΑΙΜΟ ΕΡΑΙΚΑΣΤΩΝΕΣΤΟ	
ΚΑΤΕΝΙΑΥΤΟ	ΥΜΗΝΙΕΝΑΤΩΤΡΙΠΕΥΩΧΟΥ		ΜΕΝΩΝΤΑΝΩΝΩΚΑ Ο	ΩΝΚ		ΩΜΝΕΝΗΗΜΕΡΑΑΠΟΜΝΗ ΜΟΝ	
ΝΕΥΕΣΘ	ΙΕΜΕΤΕΚΑΙΚΟΤΗΣ-		ΑΣ ΙΟΥΤΟΝΑΔ	ΟΥ		ΚΑΙΚΑΙΚΙΑΛΗΜΟΟΥΗΜ ΗΤΕ	
ΡΑΜΟΥΜΗ	ΕΝΟΣΕΧΟΝΤΟΣΕΞΟΥC		ΑΝΤΑΠΡΟΓΕΓΡΑ			ΗΚΑΙΜΕΡΟ ΤΙΑΥΤΩΝΠΩ ΙΣΑΙ	
ΙΟ ΗΕΞΑΛΛΟΤ	ΡΙΩΣΣΑΙΤΟΝΛ-ΑΥΤΩΝΤΟΡΟ		ΗΚΑΙ'ΕΡΟΣΤΙΑ			ΤΕΡΑΣΧΡΕΙΑCΚΑΤΑΜΗΔΕΝΑΤΡΟ	
	ΠΟΝΕΙΔΕ ΗΟΠΑΡΑΤΑΥΤΕΜ		ΟΥΔΙΑΤΕΤΑΓΜΕΝΑ			ΤΕΙΣΑΤΩΙCΑΡΤΕΜΙΝΠΕΡΓΑΙΑΝ	
	ΔΗΑΡΙΑΧ ΙΛΙΑΚΑΙΤΑΥΤ		ΕΡ ΟΥΛ'ΑΤΕΤΑΓΜΕ			ΚΑΘΩΣΔΙΕΤΑΞΑΜΗΝΙΣΤΟΝ	
			ΝΑΠΤΑΝΤΑΧΡΟΝΟΝ				

Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Τραιανῶ Ἀδριανῶ Σεβαστῶ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι Δευρωτῶν.

Μούας Σπασίου Τροκό[νδ]ου ξῶν καὶ [φ]ρουῶν ἀπολ[είπ]ω [κτ]ῆ[μά] μου [ἵ]ς τὸν τῆς ζωῆς χρόνον[- - - ἐνδ]ν

τὴν Βαυῶ καὶ χώρας ΕΝΑ·ΕΛΕΑΤ καὶ μόσχας ΕΞΕΛΕΩΝ τὸπῳ ΤΙ·ΙΝΕΛΕΑΙCΚΑΙΑΛΛΩΤ - - -

5 πρὸς Καλλικλήδους Ἀρμακα. Μ[ε]τὰ [δ]ὲ τὴν τελευταίην τῆ[ς] μητρ[ό]ς μου ἀ[πολ]είπ[ω] θεῶ Ἀπόλλωνι Δ[υρ]εωτῶν ἐφ' ᾧ[τε οἱ] ἀε[ὶ] αἰρούμενοι κωμάρχει προνοῶσι[ν] ὅπως μισθοῦνται τὰ προ·· Λ - - - , καὶ ἡ ἀπ' αὐτ[ῶν] τὸ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν πρό[σ]οδος

χωρῇ εἰς τε θυσίας τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ἀγορασμὸν οἶνου καὶ ἄ[ρ]των, ἰς τὸ ἀγεσθαι μο - - - ΕΡΑΙΚΑΣΤΩΝ ἐς τὸ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν μὲν ἐνάτῃ τρίτῃ εὐωχουμένον πάντων τῶν κα[τ]οικούντων τὴν κώμην ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἀπομνημον- <ν>εσθ[αι] ἐμέ τε καὶ Κοτῆν Σ[π]ασίου τὸν ἀδελφόν ἐμ[οῦ] καὶ Κίλλην Μόου τὴν μητέ-

ρα μου, μη[δ]ενὸς ἔχοντος ἐξουσι[αν] τὰ προγεγραμμένα κτήματα·] ἡ καὶ μέρο[ς] τι αὐτῶ[ν] πωλ[ῆ]σαι

10 πον' εἰ δὲ [μ]ή, ὁ παρὰ τὰ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ διατεταγμένα [πράσσων·, ἀπο]τείσάτω ἰς Ἀρτεμιν Περγαίαν

δημῖα χ[ε]ίλεια, καὶ τὰ εἴ[π]· ἐ[μ]οῦ [δ]ι[α]τεταγμέ[να] - - -] καθὼς διατετάξαμην ἰς τὸν <ν> ἅπαντα χρόνον.

Letters in l. 1, '04 m. Rest '03 m.

a. H. '45 m. Rest, c. 62 m. B. 31 m.

b. B. '65 m.

c. B. '80 m.

d. B. '74 m.

The ends of the lines are uneven, and the face of the stone in many places worn and pitted before the inscription was engraved.

In l. 1 the significance of Ἀπόλλωνι Λυρεωτῶν is not clear. From No. 10, l. 2, θεῶν Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ ἐν τῇ κώμῃ, it would seem to mean 'Apollo of the Lyreotai,' but in No. 10, l. 4 the name of the site apparently is given as τὴν κώμην Ἐνελεῶν. It is possibly an epithet of Apollo similar to λυρογηθῆς,¹ λυροκτύπος,² but the reading Λυρεωτῶν is fairly certain and is supported by l. 4, Λ[υρ]εωτῶν.

L. 2. For the reading [κτ]ῆ[μά] μου . . . [ἐνὸν] τόπῳ βαιῶ cf. κτήσί μου [ἐ]νούσαν τόπῳ Παννάλλοις at Ariassos.³

L. 3. On *a* there is a gap of about two letters between τόπῳ and Βαιῶ. Probably however there is nothing to restore, there being a corresponding flaw in the line above; Βαιῶ then is probably a place-name. The rest of the line is for the most part hopeless. It seems to specify further properties χῶραι, μύσχαι and their localities.⁴ The names of these localities, if such they be, have a general resemblance to the name in No. 10, l. 4, τὴν κώμην Ἐνελεῶν, but there is no exact correspondence.

L. 4. The name Ἀρμαξ occurs in an inscription at Termessos⁵ in the genitive Ἀ[ρ]μακος. Καλλικληδός, in spite of its position, is probably a patronymic. The form Καλλικληδός should strictly be the genitive of the feminine Καλλικληΐς, but is found in the same inscription at Termessos, Ἀτταλος Καλλικληδός.

Harmax to whom the property is bequeathed has only a temporary interest. We must presume that he was the third⁶ husband of the testator's mother Kille, after whose death the property is to pass to Apollo. The uncertainty however of the preceding line leaves this relationship doubtful, since from l. 2 [ἐ]ς τὸν τῆς ζωῆς χρόνον it would appear that the property is left to Harmax for life.

L. 5. On *c* the obvious restoration τὰ προγεγραμμένα is rendered impossible by the Λ which was certain both on the stone and impression. Some word of this kind is required by the sense.

L. 6. On *d* [ύπ]ερ [δ]ικαστῶν which agrees closely with the surviving letters seems hardly in agreement with the context.

L. 7. τῶν κα[τ]ο[ικούντ]ων τὴν κώμην is suggested by No. 10, l. 4 and exactly fills the space.

¹ *Anth. Pal.* ix. 525, 12.

² *C.I.G.* 5039.

³ *B.C.H.* xvi. p. 471 = *I.G. ad res Rom. pert.* iii. 422.

⁴ Cf. *I.G. ad res Rom. pert.* iii. 679 (at Patara) ἀγρὸν ἐν τῇ Κορυθαλλικῇ ἐν τόπῳ Χάδραις καὶ Παιδαγωγῶ.

⁵ *C.I.G.* 4366 w.

⁶ *v.* genealogical table below.

At the end of the line it is necessary to assume a flaw in the stone in the word *μνημονεύεσθαι* and also immediately below it in the word *μητέρα* in l. 9. There is a similar flaw in l. 9 c in the word *Στασίον*.

The right-hand bottom corner of block c is entirely obliterated, but the sense is clear. In l. 12 some word like *μενέτω* or *μενόντων* is to be supplied.

The general sense of the inscription is clear. Certain properties, land, cattle, etc. are left by the testator to Harmax, who is probably the husband of the testator's mother, Kille. After her death the property is to pass to Apollo, and the annual revenue derived from the letting of the property, of which the *κωμάρχαι* are to have charge, is to be devoted to sacrifices to Apollo and to the purchasing of wine and bread for a feast to be held annually on the third day of the ninth month, in which all the inhabitants of the *κώμη* are to share, in commemoration of the testator Mouas, his brother Stasias, and mother Kille. A fine of 1000 denarii is to be paid by anyone selling any of the property or alienating any of the revenues.

9. H. c. '69 m. B. '86 m. Letters in l. 1. '03 m., rest '025 m.

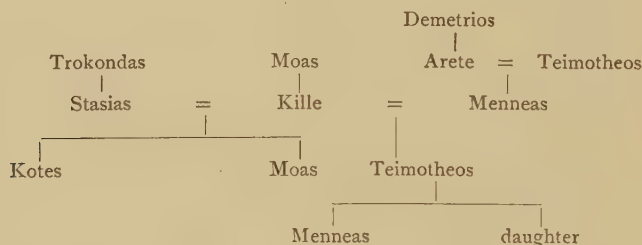
ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΙΚΑΙΣΑΡΙ
 ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩ ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΙΠΕΡΓΑΙΑ
 ΑΣΥΛΩΤΟΝΠΥΡΓΟΝΔΙΣΤΕΓΟΝΙΕΡΕΙΑΔΗΜΗ-
 ΤΡΟΣΛΙΓΓΙΔΜΗΤΡΙΟΥΕΠΑΝΓΕΙΛΑΜΕΝΗ
 ΤΗΚΩΜΗΕΠΟΙΗΣΕΝΕΚΤΩΝΙΔΙΩΝΚΑΙΝΟΝΕΚ
 ΘΕΜΕΛΙΩΝΚΑΙΣΤΕΓΑΣΑΣΑΚΑΘΙΕΡΩΣΕΝ
 ΚΑΙΝΥΝΔΙΑΦΡΙΘΕΝΤΑΠΑΛΙΝΤΕΙΜΟΘΕ
 ΣΙΜΕΝΝΕΟΥΟΕΓΓΟΝΟΣΑΥΤΗΣ ΕΠΙ
 ΤΡΟΠΟΥΑ ΤΟΥΚΙΛΛΗΣΜΟΟΥ ΗΣΜΗΤΡΟ
 ΙΟ ΑΥΤΟΥΑΝΑΛΑΒ ΝΚΑΙΣΤΕΓΑΣΑΣΑΚΑΘΙΕΡΩΣΕΝ
 ΝΗΣΚΑΙΙΛΛΙΜΩΣΑΣΕΙ ΝΙΔ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ

Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι [Δομετιανῶ
 Σεβαστῶ [Γερμανικῶ]. Ἀρτέμιδι Περγαία
 ἀσύλωτον πύργον δίστεγον ἱέρεια Δήμη-
 τρος Ἀ[ρέτη] Δ[η]μητρίου ἐπανγελαιμένη
 τῇ κώμῃ ἐποίησεν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων καινὸν ἐκ

θεμελίων καὶ στεγάσασα καθιέρωσεν.
καὶ νῦν διαφ[ορη]θέντα πάλιν Τειμόθε-
ος] Μεννέου ὁ ἔγγονος αὐτῆς [μετ'] ἐπι-
τρόπου α[ὐ]τοῦ Κίλλ[η]ς Μόου [τ]ῆς μητρὸς
10 αὐτοῦ ἀναλαβ[ώ]ν καὶ στεγάσας ἐκ και-
νῆς καὶ [κερα]μώσας ἐ[κ τῶν] ἰδ[ίων] ἀνέθηκεν.

The emperor's name erased is almost certainly that of Domitian.¹ The tower was originally built two generations before Teimotheos, whose half-brother Mouas (*v.* genealogical table), or Moas (*v.* No. 2) makes his dedication to Hadrian. From its position in the building, this stone was probably inscribed later than No. 8. We could detect no difference of hand in the two parts of the present inscription, and the whole is probably of the same date, the original dedication by Arete having been re-copied, and the name of Domitian erased or omitted. From the appearance of the stone it seems that the name was actually inscribed and afterwards erased.

The relationship of the persons mentioned is as follows:—



In inscription No. 2 two sons only of Kille are mentioned, her marriage with Menneas and the birth of Teimotheos probably taking place later than the erection of the sarcophagus. Since she is left guardian of Teimotheos, she must have survived her second husband Menneas, and perhaps have married Harmax as her third husband (*cf.* No. 8).

¹ *Cf.* a similar erasure at Tlos (Dittenberger, *O.G.I.* i. 560 = *I.G. ad res Rom. pert.* iii. 551).

10.

α.

Α · ΑΧΕΙΛΙΑ
ΜΕΝΝΕΟΥΕΙΣΤΟΑΠΟ
ΠΡΟΣΟΔΟΝΑΥΤΟΥΤ
ΤΟΥΘΕΟΥΚΑΙΕ ΣΕΥ
5 ΕΝ ΜΕΡΑΙΑΚΑΙΑΠ

Ν

10

β.

ΠΕΝΤΑΚΟΣΙΑΤΑ ΛΕΙΩΛΕΙΦΘΕΝΤΑΥΠΟΜΕΝΝΕΟΥΤΕΙΜΟΘΕΟΥ
ΤΑΣΘΗΝΑΙΧΩΡΙΟΝΘΕΩΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΤΩΝΤΗΚΩΜΗΠΡΟΣΤΟΤΗΝ
ΟΚΑΘΕΤΟΣΑΝΑΛΟΥΣΘΑΙΥΠΟΤΩΝΚΩΜΑΡΧΩΝΕΙΣΤΕΟΥΣΙΑΣ
ΩΧΙΑΝΤΩΝΚΑΤΟΙΚΟΥΝΤΩΝΤΗΝΚΩΜΗΝΕΝΕΛΕΓΕΝΕΝΜ
ΟΜΝΗΜΟΝΕΥΣΙΝΤΕΙΝΕΣΘΑΙΤΟΥΜΕΝΝΕΟΥΕΞΕΛΕΦΗΣΕΝ
ΔΗΣΤΕΙΜΟΘΕΟΥΗΑΔΕΛΦΗΚΑΙΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΟΣΤΟΥΜΕΝΝΕΟΥ
ΙΙΤΟΙΣΙΔΙΟΙΣΔΙΚΑΙΟΙΣΤΟΝΟΝΤΑΕΝΤΗΚΩΜΗΕΓΓ'ΩΜΕΝΟΝ
ΠΟΛΑΥΤΟΥΤΕΙΝΕΣΘΑΙΚΑΤΕΤΟΣΤΑΥΠΟ...ΜΕΝΝΕΟΥΔΙΑΤΕΤΑ
ΛΗΡΟΝΔΟΚΙΜΑΣΑΝΤΕΣΚΑΙΚΟΙΝΗΓΝΩΜΗΕΥΔΟΚΗΣΑΝΤΕΣ
ΤΗΝΚΩΜΗΝΕΙΣΤΑΧΕΙΛΙΑΠΕΝ...ΟΣΙΑΔΗΝΑΡΙΑ Α
ΔΙΕ...ΕΛΗΣΑΝ

δην[έρι]α χείλια πεντακόσια τα[μ]είφ λειφθέντα ὑπὸ Μεννέου Τειμοθέου
Μεννέου εἰς τὸ ἀποτα(χ)θῆναι χωρίον θεῶ· Ἀπὸλλων τῷ ἐν τῇ κώμῃ πρὸς τὸ τὴν
πρόσodon αὐτοῦ τὸ καθ' ἔτος ἀναλοῦσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν κομαρχῶν εἰς τε θυσίας
τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ εἰς εὐωχίαν τῶν κατοικούντων τὴν κώμην Ἐνδεων ἐν μ[η]νί·
5 ἐν [ή]μέρῃ α' καὶ ἀπομνημόνευσιν τεύεσθαι τοῦ Μεννέου. Ἐξελχώρησεν
----- ῥόης Τειμοθέου ἡ ἀδελφὴ καὶ κληρονόμος τοῦ Μεννέου
----- τοῖς ἰδίοις δικαίοις τὸν ὄντα ἐν τῇ κώμῃ [έ]ργ[υ] [ύ]μενον
----- ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ τεύεσθαι κατ' ἔτος πὰ ὑπὸ [τοῦ] Μεννέου διατετα-
γμένα] ----- τὸν κ[λ]ῆρον δοκίμασαντες καὶ κοινῇ ἡρώμῃ εὐδοκῆσαντες
----- τὴν κώμην εἰς τὰ χείλια πεν[τα]κόσια δηνάρια · Α -----
διε...ελησαν.

Letters 1025 m.

α. H. 54 m. B. c. 38 m.

β. H. 54 m. B. c. 85 m.

Menneas of this inscription is probably the son of Teimotheos and grandson of Menneas mentioned in No. 9. The inscription is of a similar character to No. 8. The last five lines of block *a* are however entirely obliterated. 1500 denarii are left to the treasury by the testator for the purchase of an estate for Apollo τῷ ἐν τῇ κώμῃ, the revenues from which are to be devoted to sacrifices to the god and to a feast of the inhabitants of the village, in commemoration of the testator. The last part of the inscription is uncertain.

In l. 2 ἀποτασθῆναι seems to be the reading both of the stone and impression. The Σ however is somewhat blurred and there may have been an attempt to alter it to Χ.

L. 4. On the whole it is probable that ΕΝΕΛΕΩΝ is the name of the village (? Eneleai). We are doubtful about the second Ε, which may possibly be Η.

The restoration ἐν μηνὶ ἐν [ῆ]μέρᾳ ια' was suggested by Mr. Tod ; cf. No. 8, μηνὶ ἐνάτῳ τρίτῃ. There may be a small flaw in the stone before ῆμέρᾳ or perhaps we should read ΕΝΗΗΜΕΡΑ. For !Α our copy had ΤΑ, but there is no sign of the cross-bar of the Τ in the impression.

L. 6. At the beginning of the line we should perhaps read ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν] after ἐξεχώρησεν assuming the death of the sister of Menneas, but the word may simply refer to her departure from her native town.

L. 7. At the end of the line, ἐγγυώμενον seems to be demanded by the remains of the letters but its meaning in the context is obscure.

L. 10. We should probably read οἱ κατοικοῦντες before τὴν κώμην as in l. 4, with which the participles in the preceding line are in agreement.

11. Kyrkdjamesi. Large block of white limestone in front of house. H. 60 m. B. 60 m. Letters 03 m.

ΥΜΑ ΗΟΥΣΚ/
ΓΕΜΕΙ_ΑΘΟΑΝΟ
ΓΥΝΗΑΥΤΟΥΘΟΑΝΔ
ΟΝΥΙΟΝΑΥΤΩΝΦΙΑ
ΤΕΚΝΙΑΣΕΝΕΚΕΝ

[ὁ δεῖνα - - - -]
·ο]ν Μα[ν]ήους·κ[αὶ] Ἀ-
ρ]τεμει[σί]α Θόαντο[ς]

ἡ]γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Θόανδ[α
τ]ὸν υἱὸν αὐτῶν φιλ[ο-
τεκνίας ἔνεκεν.

For the spelling Θόαντος, Θόανδα cf. σποντοφόρος and σπονδοφόρος in a Laconian inscription of the second century after Christ.¹ The tendency to change ντ to νδ appears early in Asia Minor.²

12. *Ib.* Fragment built into Roman arch near the village. Letters '02 m.

Ι
ΑΛΟΓΟ·Ν

13. *Ib.* Fragment lying beside Roman arch.

ΔΝΙΟ
ΣΤ

Probably names, Ἀπολλώνιος and ? Στασίας.

14. Indjik. Two adjacent blocks forming lintel of entrance to built tomb. (*v.* p. 220) Letters '03 m.

<i>a.</i>	<i>b.</i>
ΔΗΜΑΡΧΟΣ ΤΡΟΚΟΝΔΟΥ ΚΑΤΑΣ	
ΣΑΧΡΩΟΝΕΚΤΩΝΙΔΙΩΝ ΠΑΡΑΝΓ·ΑΛ	ΤΟΙΣ
ΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΟΙΣ / ΟΥ ΚΛΗΘΗΝΑΙ ΜΕΙ	ΤΑ
ΓΥΝΑΙΚΟΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΑΠΕΝΑΝΤΙ ΓΛΩΣΣ	ΙΟΜΟΝ
5 ΞΥΝΕΧΩΡΗΣΑΔΕΩΝΤΟΙΣ ΓΛΩΣΣ	ΟΜΟΙΣΜΟΥ

Δήμαρχος Τροκόνδου κατασ[κευά-
σας ἡρώων ἐκ τῶν ιδίων παραν[γέ]λλ[ω] τοῖς
κληρονόμοις [μ]ου [β]ληθῆναί με [μετ]ὰ [τῆς ?
γυναικὸς εἰς τὸν [ἀ]πέναντι γλωσσ[όκ]ομον,
5 σ]υνεχώρησα δὲ [ξ]ῶν τοῖς [κληρον]όμοις μου.

The inscription is engraved on the lintel, formed of two squared blocks, of the entrance to a small rectangular building of late Roman date. In front of the building is a porch with a vaulted roof, which has for the most part collapsed. Under the porch and almost in front of the entrance to the inner building stands a sarcophagus with inscription No. 15 (*q. v.*).

¹ *v. B.S.A.* xii. p. 471.

² *v. Kretschmer, Einleitung*, pp. 293, *seqq.*

15. *Ib.* . On the end of a sarcophagus. Letters '03 m. Α '07 m.

ΔΗΜΑΡΧΟΣ ΤΡΟΚΟΝΔΟ'//
 ΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΕΝΤΟ' | ΝΓΕΙΟΝΙ//
 ΑΥΤΩΚΑΙΤΗΓΥΝΑΙΚΙΑΥΤΟΥΕΙ//
 ΑΔΙΜΑΞΟΥΚ ΟΥΒΟΥΛΟΜΑΙΔΕ
 5 ΜΗΔΕΝΑΕΠΙΒ¹ΛΗΘΗΝΑΙΤΟΙΣ
 ΠΡΟΓΕΓΡΑΜΜΕΝΟΙΣΕ
 ΑΝΔΕΤΙΣΤΟΛΜΗΣΕΙΔΩ
 ΣΕΙΙΣ ΤΟ ΝΦΙΣΚΟΝ
 ΧΑΦ

The face of the stone apparently was much worn before the inscription was engraved, and there is nothing to restore except a letter in the second line and at the end of the first three lines.

Δήμαρχος Τροκόνδο[ν
 κατεσκεύασεν τὸ [ἀ]νγείον [ἐ-
 αυτῷ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ] Ε[ν-
 ἀδι Μαξούκον· βούλομαι δὲ
 5 μηδένα ἐπιβληθῆναι τοῖς
 προγεγραμμένοις· ἐ-
 ἂν δέ τις τολμήσει, δώ-
 σει ἰς (sic) τὸν φίσκον
 (δηνάρια) ,αφ'.

Demarchos, son of Trokondas, is clearly the owner of both ἡρώων and sarcophagus, the former of which he assigns to his heirs, while giving directions that he and his wife are to be buried εἰς τὸν ἀπέναντι γλωσ[σόκ]-ομον,² which refers to the sarcophagus standing opposite the entrance of the ἡρώων. The word γλωσσόκομον, which is a variant of γλωσσοκομείον³ (meaning originally a case in which to keep the reeds or tongues of musical instruments), is used in an inscription of Thera,⁴ meaning a casket or box. Hesychius has the gloss: γλωσσόκομον. θήκη, σορὸς ξυλίνη τῶν λειψάνων, cf. *Anth. Pal.* xi. 3. ἀλλ' ὅταν ἐμβλέψω Νικάνορα τὸν σοροπηγόν, καὶ γυνῶ,

¹ Reading β]ληθῆναι for <ΛΗΘΗΝΑΙ. The first letter of the word is very faint, but seemed rather to resemble κ.

² The restoration was suggested by Mr. A. M. Woodward.

³ On the form γλωσσόκομον v. Rutherford, *New Phrynichus*, p. 181.

⁴ *C. I. G.* 2448, viii. 25, 31.

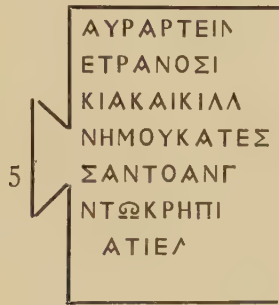
πρὸς τί ποιεῖ ταῦτα τὰ γλωσσόκομα. Theodor. *H. E.* 3. 'Ολίγων δὲ διελθουσῶν ἡμερῶν ὁ τοῦ ἀλάστορος ἐκείνου θάνατος ἐμηνύθη, καὶ ἐν γλωσσοκόμῳ κείμενος ἐκομίσθη.

The word is generally neuter, but Zonaras, p. 442 has γλωσσόκομος· βαλάντιον ἢ ξυλίνη θήκη. For the name 'Ε[ν]ὰς *cf.* τῇ γυνεὶ 'Ενάδι near lake Karalitis.¹

The name Μάξουκος should possibly be Μάζουκος. We were unable to decide whether the stone had Ζ or Ζ.

17. *Ib.* Nos. 17–20 are from a group of sarcophagi on the west side of the valley dividing the site.

On the broken panel of the sarcophagus. Letters '03 m.



Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀρτεῖ[μων οὐ
ετρανὸς
κία καὶ Κίλλ[η ἡ γυ-
νή μου κατεσ[κέα-
5 σαν τὸ ἀνγ[εῖον συ-
ν τῷ κρηπί[δωμ-
ατι ἐ[αυτοῖς

The last letters of lines 4–5, which are slightly longer in the restored text than the rest, were doubtless inscribed outside the panel proper.

In l. 6 κρηπίδωμα refers to the stepped base on which the sarcophagus stood, *cf.* No. 22.

¹ Heberdey-Kalinka, *Denkschrift der k. Acad. in Wien, Philos. Hist. Kl.* xlv. p. 8, No. 22. *cf. Reisen*, ii. No. 210 (in the Milyas); Sterrett, *Epigraphical Journey*, No. 63 (Tefenni), 'Ενάς; *Reisen*, No. 211 (in the Milyas), No. 256 (Kibyra) 'Ενᾷ.

18. *Ib.* On the panel of a sarcophagus. Letters '03 m.

ΑΥΡΗΛΙΣΑΠΟΛΛ
ΩΝΙΑΝΟΣΚ·///ΙΡΑΣ
ΙΣΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΑ
ΤΟΑΝΓΙΟΝΕΑΥΤΩ
5 ΚΑΙΤΗΜΗΤΡΙΜΟΥΚΑΙ
ΤΗΓΥΝΑΙΚΙΜΟΥ
ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣΙΑ

Αὐρήλι(ο)ς Ἀπολλ-
-ωνιανὸς κ · ρασ-
-ις κατεσκεύασα
τὸ ἀνγίον ἑαυτῷ

5 καὶ τῇ μητρὶ μου καὶ
τῇ γυναικί μου
Ἀρτεμισίᾳ.

In l. 2 we have probably an ethnic ending in -(ο)ς, but neither on the stone nor on the impression was it possible to decipher the two missing letters.

19. *Ib.* On the end of a sarcophagus. Letters '03 m.

ΤΡΕΜΙΛΑΣΚΟΚΗΟΥΣ
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥΚΙΜΒΡΟΥ
ΤΟΜΝΗΜΕΙΟΝΕΑΥΤΩΚΑΙ
ΤΕΜΕΙΤΗΥΓΑΤΡΙΚΑΙΤΟΙΣ
5 ΚΝΟΙΣΚΑΙΑΡΤΕΜΕΙΣΙΑΤΗ
Α ΚΙΑΥΤΟΥΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΕΝ

Τρεμίλας Κο(τ)ήους
Ἀπολλωνίου Κίμβρου
τὸ μνημεῖον ἑαυτῷ καὶ ᾿Αρ-
τέμει [τ]ῇ [θ]υγατρὶ καὶ τοῖς [τέ-
5 κνοῖς καὶ Ἀρτεμισίᾳ τῇ [γυν-
α[ι]κὶ αὐτοῦ κατεσκεύασεν.

For the name Τρεμίλας *cf.* Τερμίλας.¹ The name is obviously to be connected with the Lycian ethnic *Trēmili*.²

¹ *B.S.A.* xvi. p. 125, xvii. p. 212; *A.J.A.* 1886, p. 265, No. 5. For the variation in the spelling *cf.* Τέρβημις = Lycian Τρέβημις (quoted by Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, p. 294; *cf.* p. 362).

² *Steph. Byz. s.v. Τλος*. Tremiles is the eponymous ancestor of the Termilai (= Lycians, *cf.* *Hdt.* i. 173).

The patronymic should probably be read Κο[τ]ήους. The letter, however, which is much worn, seemed rather to resemble Κ.

20. *Ib.* On the end of a sarcophagus. Letters '04 m.

ΑΥΡΑΥΞΑΝΩΝΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑ
 ΣΕΝΤΟΑΝΓΕΙΟΝΕΑΥΤΩΚΑΙΤΗ
 ΓΥΝΑΙΚΙΜΟΥΑΥΡΑΡΤΕΜΕΙΜΟ
 ΝΟΙΣΑΛΛΩΔΕΟΨΔΕΝΙΕΞΩΝΕ
 ΤΕΡΟΝ ΤΩΜΑ ΨΝΤΙ
 ΛΟΥΝΔΩΣΕΙΤΗΠΕΡ

Αὐρ(ήλιος) Αὐξάνων κατεσκεύα-
 σεν τὸ ἀνγείον ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῇ
 γυναικί μου Αὐρ(ηλία) Ἀρτέμει μό-
 νοις· ἄλλω δὲ οὐδενὶ ἕξον ἔ-

5 τερον [π]τῶμα - - - - -
 - - δώσει τῇ Περ[γαίων πόλει (?)

For the name Αὐξάνων *cf.* *C.I.G.* 3655, etc., and the Tekmoreian lists.¹

The significance of the restoration proposed in line 6 (*cf.* No. 23) is discussed above.²

21. *Ib.* Sarcophagus to the *N.W.* of the site. Letters '03 m.

ΑΦΡΟΔΕΙΣΑΣΚΑΣΤΟ
 ΡΟΣΕΑΥΤΩΤΟΑΝΓ
 ΕΙΟΝΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑ
 ΣΕΝ

Ἀφροδισὰς Κάστο-
 ρος ἑαυτῷ τὸ ἀνγ-
 εῖον κατεσκεύα-
 σεν.

¹ Ramsay, *Studies in the - - - Eastern provinces*, p. 324, R. i. ll. 74, 89; p. 330, R. iii. l. 25.

² p. 221.

22 *Ab*. On the end of a sarcophagus near the last ¹ (?). The letters of the lower part of the inscription are on a panel.

ΙΡΕΙΝΟΤΗΕΦΑΙΡΙΩΝΟΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΕΤΟ
 ΝΓΕΙΟΝΜΕΤΑΤΟΥΚΡΗΠΙΔΩΜΑΤΟΣΕΑΥΤΩΚΑΙ
 ΗΓΥΝΑΙΚΙΑΥΤΟΥΗΝΕΗΚΑΙΤΩΠΑΤΡΙΩΑΥΤΟΥ
 ΡΟΚΟΝΔΑΛΕΚΕΙΟΥΚΑΙΤΟΙΣΤΕΚΝΟΙΣΑΥΤΟΥ

5 ΕΦΑΙΡΙΩΝΙΚΑΙΗ

ΝΕΑΚΑΙΑΝΑΛΩ

ΓΕΝΙΙΝΗΤΑΙΑΥΤ

ΟΥΣΜΟΝΟΥΣΕΑΝ

ΔΕΤΙΣΤΟΛΜΗΕΗ

ΙΟ ΔΟΙΝΔΩΕΙΤΩ

ΙΕΡΩΤΑΤΩΤΑΜΙΩ*

ΒΦ

Ε]ῖρηνότης Σφαιρίωνος κατεσκεύασε τὸ
 ἄ]νγειον μετὰ τοῦ κρηπιδώματος ἑαυτῷ καὶ
 τ]ῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ Ἡνέη(?) καὶ τῷ πατρίῳ αὐτοῦ
 Τ]ροκόνδῳ Λεκείου καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτοῦ

5 Σφαιρίωνι καὶ Ἡ-

νέᾳ(?) καὶ ἂν ἄλ(λο)

γέν<ην>ηται· αὐτ-

οὺς μόνους· ἐὰν

δέ τις τολμήσῃ

ΙΟ - - - ΔΟΙΝ, δώσι τῷ

ἱερωτάτῳ ταμίῳ (δηνάρια)

ΒΦ.

The inscription was copied in the rain, when it was impossible to make an impression, and could not be found on later visits to the site.

We cannot be certain about the name Ἡνέα. The suggested correction in ll. 6 and 7 is not very satisfactory, as it leaves αὐτοὺς μόνους unexplained, unless that is to be considered an error for αὐτοῖς μόνοις. We have nothing to offer in l. 10, which seems to resemble the enigmatic formula in No. 20.

¹ [I have this entry in my notebook, but was unable to find the sarcophagus on my second and third visits.—H. A. O.]

23. *Ib.* Epistyle fragment from small Ionic heroon (*v.* p. 220). Letters '04 m.

1'91 m.

<
>

ΑΙΩΝΤΟΛΕΩΣΚΑΙΧΛ'	ΟΠΑΚΟΜΩΝΟΣΗΓΥΝΗΑ,ΤΟΥΕΥΜΕΝΗΔΙΣΠΑΠΟΥΚΑΙΑΥΤΩΙ	
ΚΑΙΓΑΥΙΟΙΣΖΩΝΤΕΣΚΑΙΤΟΙΣΥΙΟΙΣΚΑΙΤΑΙΣΤΟΥΤΩΝΓΥΝΑΙΞΙΝΚΑΙΘΟ,ΙΑΤΡΙΚΑΙΕΓΓΟΝΟΙΣ,Α		
<ΕΥΑΣΑΝΕΙΣΟΑΝΑΛΩΘΗΚΑΙΚΤΗΣΤΟΥΕΥΜΕΝΟΥΣΔΙΑΘΗΚΗΣ	*ΧΕΙΛΙΑΠΕΤΑΚΟΣΙΑΤΑΔΕΛΟΙΠΑΕΚΤΩΝ	
ΤΩΝΑΝΑΛΩΘΗΘΕΝΟΣΕΤΕΡΟΥΕΞΟΥΣΙΑΝ ΧΟΝΤΟΣΚΑΤΑΘΕΣ·ΑΙ...ΜΑΕΙΔΕΜΗΑΠΟΔΟΤΩΤΩ		

- - - - Περ[α]ίων πόλεως καὶ ΧΛ'·ΟΠΑ Κόμωνος ἡ γυνὴ α[ύ]του Εὐμένη δις Πάπον καὶ αὐτῷ - - -
 - - - - καὶ [έ]αυ[τ]οῖς ζῶντες καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς καὶ παῖς τούτων γυναιξὶν καὶ τῇ θ[υγ]ατρὶ καὶ ἐγγόνοις α[ύ]των - - -
 - - - - κατεσ[κεύασαν, εἰς ὃ ἀναλώθη καὶ (έ)κ τῆς τοῦ Εὐμένους διαθήκης (δηνύρια) χεῖλια πετακόσια (sic), τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἐκ τῶν [ιδίω]ν ? - - -
 των ἀναλώθη, μηθενὸς ἐτέρου ἐξουσίαν [έ]χοντος καταθέσ[θ]αι [πτῶ]μα, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀποδώτω τῷ [ιέρω]τάτῳ ταμέῳ ?

A fragment of the same or a similar epistyle, lying near, has letters 15 ιηγ. A second fragment, inscribed

ΙΙΙ ΑΙ Δ
)APP, probably belongs to a different inscription, the letters measuring '03 m.
 TC

In l. 1. we restore Περγ[αίων πόλεως from No. 20. The builder of the heroön was probably a citizen of Perge, to which we have argued above (p. 221) the site at Indjik belonged in Roman times.

The stone is broken at both ends and a complete restoration is impossible. Between lines 2 and 3 read probably [τὸ ἡρώον]. In l. 4, τῷ [ἱερωτάτῳ ταμείῳ is suggested by No. 22, although τῷ [φίσκῳ is possible (cf. No. 15).

24. Adalia. In the yard of a house. Broken limestone block. Letters '03 m.

ΔΙΟΥΑΥΡ
ΟΥΤΟΥΗΣ
ΟΥΠΙΤΕΛΟΥΝ
ΤΟΒΠΑΜ

[ἀγωνοθετοῦντ-]
ος διὰ βίου] Αὐρ. [Παιω-
νείν]ο]ν Τουησ[ιανοῦ
καὶ ἐ]πιτελοῦν[τος Θέ-
μιν] τὸ β' Παμ[φυλιακ-
ὴν κ.τ.λ.]

The inscription belongs to the series found at Side,¹ and probably was brought thence by boat. This, we were told, was the case with an inscription copied by Rott² at Lara, and seen again by us.

The name Τουησιανός occurs also at Syrt.³ A Τουησιανός, bishop of Kassae, occurs in the Council-lists of 381 A.D.

25. *Ib.* Copied previously by Mr. Nikola Michael Ferteklis, and not seen by us.

ΡΜΑΙΟΥΠΙΛΛΙΤΟΣ
ΕΠΗΚΟΟΙΣΕΥΧΗΝ
Ε]ρμαίου Πίλλιτος
θεοῖς] ἐπηκόοις εὐχήν.

The name Πίλλιτος, if correct, is probably to be restored in *B.S.A.* xvi. p. 126, No. 20, cf. the Pisidian name Πίλλα-κόης.⁴

¹ *C.I.G.* 4352-7, with note: Θέμις Παμφυλιακή est institutum Pamphyliacum, nimirum ipsum illud ἐπιβατήριον, hoc est festum ἐπιδημίας deorum, quod ab auctore Tuesiano nomen traxit. On the ἀγὼν Θέμιδος v. Woodward's note and refs. in *B.S.A.* xvi. pp. 117, 120.

² H. Rott, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler*, p. 366, No. 67.

³ Lanckoronski, ii. No. 259.

⁴ Lanckoronski, ii. Nos. 68, 69.

26. *Ib.* A broken slab, probably from a sarcophagus, at the foot of the stairs in a Turkish house. Letters '04 m.

ΣΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥΕΡΜΑΙΟΥΕ
 ΞΕΜΟΥΤΩΑΙ·ΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΥΤ
 ΕΛΦΩΑΥΤΟΥΜΕΤΑΔΕΤΟΝ
 ΑΙΚΑΙΤΟΕΝΟΣΠΤΩΜΑΒΟΥ
 ΤΑΚΟΡΑΚΩΘΗΝΑΙΑΥΤΟΕΥΣ
 ΩΜΩΝΜΟΥΠΡΟ
 ΙΙΑΚΑΤΑΘΗ

(?) Ἑρμαῖος Ἀπολλωνίου Ερμαίου ἐ[αυτῷ ?
 - - - - - ω] ἐμοῦ τῷ [Ἀρτ]εμιδώρου τ[₁ - -
 - - - ἀδ]ελφῷ αὐτοῦ· μετὰ δὲ τὸν [δεῖνα ἀπ-
 -οτεθῆν]αι καὶ τὸ ἐντὸς πτῶμα, βού[λομαι - - -
 5 - - - κα] τακορακωθῆναι αὐτὸ εὐ[θύς ? - - -
 ὑπὸ τῶν κληρονό]μων μοῦ προ[- - - - -
 ἐὰν δέ τις ἄλλο πτῶμα] κατὰθ[ηται - - -

A complete restoration is impossible, as the length of the lines on either side is uncertain. The formula for the closing of the sarcophagus is similar to Nos. 1, 4, 5, 6. In line 3 a proper name probably follows τόν. After the burial of ὁ δεῖνα the sarcophagus, in which already one body is buried, is to be closed (εὐθύς?).

27. Kara Kisse, two hours to the west of Adalia. Fragment of columnar *stele*, broken and now serving as doorstep in front of the *Kahveh* beside the church of the Panagia (*v.* p. 233).

IMP
 ΟΑΛΕ
 ΕΤΜ
 ΡΙΟΙ
 ΙΝC
 FLA
 C O
 ΛΕ
 Ν
 Ι

Imp. [*Caess. Caio Aurelio*
Oale[*rio Diocletiano*
et [*Marco Aurelio Oale-*
rio [*Maximiano PP. FF.*
5 *In*[*oictis Augg. et*
Fla[*oio Oalerio*
Co[*nstantio et Ga-*
le[*rio Oalerio Maxi-*
miano Nobilis-
10 *s*][*mis Caess.*

The inscription apparently is a duplicate of that found by Mr. Nikola Michael Ferteklis at Euyuk-Keui, published and commented on by Mr. Woodward.¹ In that inscription, which was revised by ourselves, we read GALERIO in l. 2. In the present example the reading *Oale*[*rio* for *Valerio* seems certain. In l. 5 similarly *inoictis* was written for *invictis*. The use of O for V in a Latin inscription need cause no surprise in a Greek-speaking district.² In like manner the stone-cutter employs the Greek ε for Latin E. In the example from Euyuk-Keui the *G* of *Galerio* (= *Valerio*) is fairly certain, *V* being used elsewhere on the stone.

28. Lara (Magydos). Small limestone slab with broken edges. Letters '03 m.

ΑΓΑΘΟ
ΥΣΜΝΑC
ΟΥΕΝΘΑΔΕ
ΚΕΙΤΕΕΤΩΝ
ΚΑ
ΤΡΙΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ
'Αγαθό[πο-
υς Μνας[ί-
ου ένθάδε
κείτε έτών
5 κα'
Τριπολίτης.

¹ *B.S.A.* xvii. p. 207, No. 4A.

² For o=Latin *v* cf. *Polyb.* ii. 20; τήν 'Οάδμονα προσαγορευομένην λίμνην=lacus Vadimonis. (We have to thank Prof. Postgate for this reference.) An error parallel to the above is quoted by Lindsay (*The Latin Language*, p. 50) from the edict of Diocletian where *bulba* (= *vulva*) occurs in the Latin inscription, βούλβη in the Greek.

29. Jalynys Baghdeirmi. On the walls of a Roman road cut through the rock (*v.* p. 222). Deeply cut letters c. '20 m.

a. On the E. side of the road :

O
P OI ΙΕΤΡΑΠΥΡΓΙΣ N
ῥοι [Τ]ετραπυργι[ῶ]ν

b. On the W. side of the road :

ΛΙ Μ Ν Ω Ν ΟΡ Ο Ι
Λιμνῶν ῥοι

The τετραπυργίαι are explained by Ramsay¹ as 'quadrangular buildings with towers at the four corners,' the τετραπυργίαι at Kelainai confiscated by Eumenes² being 'similar fortified residences belonging to great landowners.' In the present case the τετραπυργία or τετραπυργίαι seem to have developed into a village, whose boundaries are here defined. Similar cases are quoted by Ramsay (*loc. cit.*), who compares the process by which the modern *tchiftlik* passes into a village.

30. Perge. On the base of a draped female statue with the left leg advanced. The lower part only could be seen. Letters '04 m.

< - - - - - '58 m. - - - - - >
ΥΔΙΟΖ ΙΕΙΣ ΛΥΗΚΕΝ
Κλα]ύδιος [Πρ]εῖς[κος ἀνέθ]ηκεν.

31. *Ib.* Square basis, half-buried. Breadth '67 m. Letters in l. 1 '045, the rest '04 m.

ΑΙΟΙ vacat.
ΛΑΝΚΙΑΝΜΑΓΝΑΝ
ΜΠΛΑΝΚΙΟΥΟΥΑΡΟΥ
ΚΑΙΠΟΛΕΩΣΘΥΓΑΤΕΡΑ
5 ΙΕΡ ΤΗΣΑΡΤΕΜΙ
ΔΟΞΚΑΙ Ο

¹ *C.B.* ii. p. 419; *cf. Studies in - - - the Eastern Roman Provinces*, p. 373.

² Plutarch, *Eum.* 8. Further refs. in *C.B.* *loc. cit.*

? Οἱ Περγ]αῖοι
 Π]λανκίαν Μάγναν
 Μ. Πλανκίου Ουάρου
 καὶ πόλεως θυγατέρα,
 5 ἱέρ[ειαν] τῆς Ἀρτέμι-
 δο[ς] καὶ [δημιουργ]ό[ν]
 - - - - -

There seemed to be several more lines, which have disappeared, although the lower part of the stone was protected until we uncovered it. Plancia Magna is honoured in another inscription of Perge,¹ in which also she is called πόλεως θυγάτηρ. The significance of the title is discussed and the examples collected by Liebenam.² The evidence on the whole points to the fact that the title was merely honorary, there being no actual adoption by the state, although Reinach³ quotes Le Bas-Waddington 108, ἡ βουλὴ ἐτείμησεν Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον Μενεμάχου καὶ τοῦ δήμου υἱόν, φύσει δὲ Ἑρμοθέστου, as a case proving both natural descent and municipal adoption.

In l. 6 we restore δημιουργ]ό[ν, which fits the space. In the inscription cited above the title seems to be applied to Plancia Magna rather than to her father,⁴ although the reading is not certain.

32-38. Aspendos. The following inscriptions, all of them engraved on small gabled *stelai*, similar to those published by Lanckoronski,⁵ were found at or in the neighbourhood of the village situated on the hill Kyzyl Belen on the road from Köprü Khan to the site of Aspendos. Most of those which we saw at this spot had been newly dug out by peasants seeking for building material. It is probable that an ancient cemetery was situated on this spot. From the forms of the letters and of the *stelai* Lanckoronski decides that these monuments go back to the second century B.C. or possibly earlier.

¹ *C.I.G.* 4342 b³=Cagnat, *I.G. ad res Rom. pert.* iii. 794, Κοκκηῖα [Πλ]ανκία Μα - - -, daughter of M. Plancius Varus, whom Cagnat suggests may be the proconsul of Bithynia c. 70 A.D. and of Asia c. 78-79 A.D. (*v. Pros. Imp. Rom.* iii. p. 42, No. 334).

² *Städteverw.* p. 292. Refs. p. 553.

³ *Traité d'Épigr. gr.* p. 511.

⁴ *v.* Cagnat's note *ad loc.* with references to examples of this title being borne by women. The known examples of the title in general are collected by Liebenam, *op. cit.* p. 292. Those from the district by Woodward, *B.S.A.* xvii. p. 210, No. 6.

⁵ *Op. cit.* i. p. 95.

The weather, while we were at Aspendos, prevented us from making impressions, and we were unable to revisit the site. We have therefore had to rely on our drawings of the inscriptions.

32. Ht. with gable '52 m. B. '28 m. Letters '015 m.

ΑΡΤΙΜΙΔΟΡΙΣ
ΙΞΙΔΑΜΥ

33. In *mezarlik*. B. '27 m. Letters '015 m.

ΑΠΕΛΛΗΡΥΝΙΣ
ΜΕΤΑΚΛΕΤΥΣ

34. *Ib.* At foot of same grave as preceding. The two had probably been found simultaneously. B. '26 m. Letters '015 m.

ΑΠΕΛΛΗΡΥΝΙΣ

35. Small fragment in a stone heap. Letters '015 m.

ΚΕΝΙΣ
ΛΟΠΟΤΥΣ

36. Small fragment *ib.* Letters '02 m.

ΕΙΣ
Υ

37. Broken stele built into house. B. '30 m. Letters '025 m.

ΦΙΛΟΤΑΤΡΑ
ΠΕΛΛΑΔΕΥΟΥ

38. Fragment in stone heap. Letters '03 m. Cf. Lanckoronski, i. No. 98, 5. Ἀλεξίων Β Φηρέου.

ΑΛΕΞΙΩΝ
ΕΟΥ

39. Built high up into the bridge over the Eurymedon, above the first arch from the right bank, over the stream.

ΛΩΝΙΟΖ
ΝΚΑΤΑ
ΑΥΤΩΥΙ
ΝΤΑΦΟ
ΚΙΣΧ

Hardly enough remains to warrant a restoration. The inscription is clearly an epitaph, containing a formula against violation. The name should probably be restored 'Απολ]λώνιο[s.

40. It is perhaps worth while calling attention here to the inscription published by Mr. G. F. Hill¹ from the papers of the late Rev. E. T. Daniell. The locality where the inscription was found is not stated by Mr. Hill, but Cagnat² assigns it to Termessos. The stone is at Evdir Khan and is a square basis. (H. 1'14, B. '43 m. Letters '04.) We read ΟΞΣΑΣ for ΟΣΣΑΣ in l. 1, and Ξ for Ξ in l. 6. Beside the stone stands a duplicate, the top line of which is however missing, the stone having been broken.

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES.

'Αγαθόπους, 28.	Δημήτριος, 9.
'Αλεξίων Φηρέου, 38.	Εἰρηνότης, 32
'Απελαυρυνis Μειακλέτης, 33, cf. 34.	'Ενός, 15.
Αὐρ. 'Απολλωνιανός, 18.	'Ερμαῖος, 1, 25, 26.
'Απολλώνιος, 1, ? 13, 19, 26, ? 39.	Εὐμένης, 23.
'Αρέτη, 9.	'Ηνέα (?), 21.
"Αρμαξ, 8.	Θεοδοτιανός, 1.
'Αρτειμολής, 1.	Θόας, 11.
Αὐρ. 'Αρτείμων, 17.	Καλλικλής, 8.
'Αρτεμεισία, 11, 18, 19.	Κάστωρ, 21.
'Αρτεμίδωρος, 7, 26.	Κίλλη, 2, 8, 9, 17.
"Αρτεμις, 19.	Κίμβρος, 19.
Αὐρ. "Αρτεμις, 20.	Κλαύδιος Πρεῖσκος, 30.
'Αρτιμίδορις Φεχιδάμν, 32.	Κόμων, 23.
"Ατταλος, 7.	Κοτής, 2, 8, ? 19.
Αὐρ. Αὐξάνων, 20.	Λέκειος, 21.
'Αφροδεισᾶς, 21.	Μανῆς, 11.
Δήμαρχος, 14, 15.	Μάξουκος, 15.

¹ *J.H.S.* xv. p. 129, No. 28.

² *I.G. ad res Rom. pert.* iii. 450.

Μαρκία, 1.
 Μενέας, 9, 10.
 Μνασίας, 28.
 Μόας, 2, 9 ; Μούας, 8.
 Όξσας, 40.
 Πάπος, 23.
 Πίλλιτος, 25.
 Πλανκία Μάγνα, 31.
 Μ. Πλάνκιος Ούâρος, 31.

Αὐρ. [Παιωνείνο]υ Τουη[σιανοῦ], 24.
 Στασίας, 2, 8, ? 13.
 Σφαιρίων, 21.
 Τειμόθεος, 9, 10.
 Τρεμίλας, 19.
 Τροκόνδας, 8, 14, 15, 21.
 Φιλοπάτρα Πελαδώρου, 37.
 Χα . . οπα, 23.

H. A. ORMEROD.

E. S. G. ROBINSON.

EARLY EGYPTIAN INFLUENCE IN THE MEDITERRANEAN.

WAS IT RESPONSIBLE FOR THE MEGALITHIC MONUMENTS?

THE question of the influence of the Eastern Mediterranean on the Central and Western is not a new one, and an apology is perhaps needed for re-opening it. If so it must be taken to lie in the fact that the last five years have thrown a new light on the Eastern Mediterranean. It was easy to say that what seemed strange or new in Crete or Italy must be due to 'Oriental influence' so long as this alluring phrase remained without content. Now, however, when we are beginning to catch glimpses of what was really happening in nearer Asia in remote days, we are almost daily finding that something of that which was so readily labelled 'oriental' is not oriental at all.

It is, then, a time for reconsidering this question, and no doubt it will be discussed in all its bearings at the coming Archaeological Congress in Rome, where the following problem is to be dealt with: 'In what consists the evidence of the influence of the pre-Hellenic East on the countries of the Western Mediterranean?' Here I shall confine myself mainly to a single aspect of the question. It is an aspect which has lately been brought into prominence by Professor Elliot Smith's book on the Ancient Egyptians.¹ This book is of course mainly concerned with Egypt and the Egyptians, but its last chapter is an attempt to reconcile the craniological evidence available for Egypt and the Mediterranean with the archaeological.

¹ G. Elliot Smith, *The Ancient Egyptians and their Influence upon the Civilization of Europe* (Harper and Brothers, London, 1911).

It is with this last chapter that we shall be most nearly concerned here. Professor Elliot Smith, in addition to being an authority on anthropometry, took part in the capacity of anthropologist in the work carried out for the Hearst Fund by Reisner and others at Gizeh and Naga ed Der, so that his information is in all cases first-hand.

He accepts at the outset Sergi's proposition that in the early neolithic period the shores of the Mediterranean were occupied by various branches of a single long-headed brunette race which included the Egyptians.¹ Now it has been for some time well known that during the early dynasties a broad type of head began to intrude among the long types which were invariable in the predynastic race of Egypt. Professor Elliot Smith does not accept the hypothesis that this is to be accounted for by a Semitic or other invasion at the beginning of the dynastic period. If we read him aright, he is much more inclined to see in it the sign of a gradual infiltration of an Armenoid element. He brings this into connection with the great westerly movement which flooded most parts of Europe at the end of the neolithic period with a broad-headed people; Egypt, he says, did not entirely escape this movement, though it was much less affected by it than Europe, while even the most westerly parts of the Mediterranean shore of Africa were not free from its effects, as is shown by the occasional short types of head which occur there.

With these hypotheses we have no desire to disagree, and they certainly contain a very simple explanation of a number of facts difficult enough to reconcile. However, Professor Elliot Smith does not stop here. He proceeds to give us a very careful account of the way in which civilization developed in the Mediterranean. It was in Egypt, he tells us, that the use of copper was first discovered, and it was this discovery which enabled Egypt to forge rapidly ahead of the less fortunate kindred nations of the Mediterranean. These 'were still in the neolithic age for centuries after Egypt had left it behind; and there can be no doubt that her influence must have slowly passed from tribe to tribe, until the whole Mediterranean littoral became permeated with the leaven of Egyptian culture, which thus affected at their source the very springs of European civilization.'²

These influences upon Europe, he tells us, were exerted partly 'by the Egyptians themselves, or by people who had actually seen their achievements in the Nile valley,'³ and partly through the Armenoid invaders of

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 18.

² *Op. cit.* p. 161.

³ *Op. cit.* p. 162.

Europe, who had already learnt the use of copper from the Egyptians on the battlefields of Syria.

As long as Professor Elliot Smith speaks in general terms of Egyptian influence we can hardly gainsay him, for there is so little archaeological evidence either one way or the other and natural probability is in his favour. It is when he comes to detail that we find ourselves obliged to part company with him.

Two of the greatest problems of Mediterranean archaeology are and have long been the place of the discovery of copper and the origin of and connection between the megalithic monument and the rock-sepulchre. Professor Elliot Smith has a definite answer to both problems. With regard to the discovery of copper he follows Reisner and places it in Egypt. On this he bases his answer to the second problem which is as follows: 'The inspiration to make rock-cut sepulchres came from Egypt, and such tombs were not made until aeneolithic times because they followed the invention of copper tools in Egypt.' The dolmen and other megalithic monuments are, according to him, attempts to emulate the great stone edifices of the Egyptians. 'It is not *necessary*' (the italics are mine) 'to postulate any great racial movements to explain such transmission of customs,' for 'it may have been the mere idea that spread.' He agrees, however, that in any particular case the appearance of such monuments might well be due to an immigration of people who had already fallen under Egyptian influence.

This theory has the merit of simplicity. It would explain why megalithic monuments and rock sepulchres so often appear side by side, and further why they so often appear at the beginning of the copper age. It has many other advantages which have been carefully worked out and set forth by its author, and yet it is not convincing.

Many, for instance, of those who are best acquainted with both the European and Egyptian evidence, will find themselves unable to accept outright Professor Elliot Smith's initial assumption that Egypt was the home of copper-working, and it is upon this assumption that most of his superstructure is based, as he himself assures us in his introduction. However, it so happens that this point barely affects the question with which we are here mainly concerned, for all will readily admit that at the time of the VIth Dynasty, to which period Professor Elliot Smith attributes the origin of the megalithic monuments, Egypt had long been in possession of copper

and was one of the most civilized nations in the Eastern Mediterranean. We shall therefore leave the question of the origin of copper undiscussed and pass on to the direct influence of Egypt on the Mediterranean, an influence to which Professor Elliot Smith attributes the megalithic monuments.

Before dealing with theory we shall do well to put ourselves on firm ground with regard to fact. What signs have we of Egyptian influence in the Central and Eastern Mediterranean previous to the XIIth Dynasty? This is a question which has usually been discussed from the Egyptian standpoint, with unsatisfactory results. As far as regards Italy and all those parts of the Western Mediterranean where megalithic monuments occur I cannot see a single proof or even sign of Egyptian influence. For Italy and Sicily in particular I speak with confidence, for, although reference to the vague east was dear to the older school of Italian archaeologists, there is no case in which contact with Egypt can be proved. For Crete there is more evidence, and it has been excellently treated by Mr. H. R. Hall in a series of important articles.¹ Yet for the early periods there is little that is conclusive.

The earliest evidences which have been suggested of a commercial connection between Egypt and Crete are certain black vases found by Petrie on the early temple site at Abydos, and probably dating from the Ist Dynasty.² Some of these are small cups and are not polished. Others, of various forms, are polished. Petrie, having compared a single specimen of this ware with the Cretan black polished pottery of the late neolithic and Early Minoan I. periods, finds the two indistinguishable in 'colour, burnish, and general appearance,' and therefore considers these vases to have been imported from Crete into Egypt. It is a paradox in the study of pottery that, in dealing with primitive wares, the finer, so long as there is no decoration, have often fewer distinguishing characteristics than the rougher. All black polished ware has a close resemblance, and it is only after a minute comparison and analysis of a large number of sherds from two groups that we can safely declare them to belong to the same fabric. Thus sherds belonging to certain black polished wares of Italy and Malta are practically indistinguishable from those of Crete. Unfortunately, we know little of the forms of the early Cretan series. The form with hollow conical foot which

¹ See especially *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1909, pp. 135 ff.

² Petrie, *Abydos II.* p. 38, Pl. XLII, Figs. 20-36; *B.S.A.* x. p. 23.

Petrie appeals to as being 'specially western,' occurs in almost every pottery series that exists. The other two vases which he mentions as western are certainly not known early shapes in Crete or the Aegaeon. For the present, though we cannot disprove the Cretan origin of these vases, we have no right whatever to accept it as certain or even probable.

The incised and 'white-filled' vases of predynastic Egypt, so often referred to as having Aegaeon affinities, belong to a type of pottery which occurs in many parts of Europe and the Mediterranean at very varying dates. It is found in Spain, in Bosnia, in Italy, in Hungary, in the Aegaeon and elsewhere. In each case there are local characteristics, and even if, as is hardly likely, all these wares had a common origin, we have no right to connect any one of them directly with any other. The Egyptian vases have no more affinity with those of the Aegaeon than they have with those of Bosnia or Spain.

The painted vases found by Petrie in the tombs of Zer and Mersekha at Abydos belong to no fabric as yet known in the Aegaeon, and, what is more, the shape of the jugs is not one for which there is a place in the development of the jug form as we see it in the early Aegaeon. We now know from the excavations of Elam, Persia, and Asia Minor, that painted pottery appeared early in these districts, and there is not the least reason for assigning the Abydos vases to the Aegaeon rather than to Syria or elsewhere in the East. As for the unpainted vases of the same shape as these and found with them, the shape is again an argument against an Aegaeon derivation, and in any case they stand or fall with their painted fellows.

Much has been made of the stone vases found by Seager at Mochlos in Crete, which are said to shew close similarity to those of early Egypt.¹ These vases make a rather sudden appearance in E. M. II., and the argument is that stone vase making was inspired by imported Egyptian vases and that even the shapes of these were in some cases directly copied. Seager himself says 'Several vases bear slight resemblances to the early stone vessels of Egypt as regards shape, but on the other hand many of them are absolutely un-Egyptian in every respect.' This is a very fair statement of the case. The shapes found at Mochlos are fairly numerous and it would be remarkable if there were none which resembled some of the many forms known in early Egypt. But to prove that Egyptian

¹ Seager, *Explorations in Mochlos*, pp. 99-104, Pl. I.-VII. and IX.

originals were copied it would be necessary either to find such originals in Crete or to point to imitations there of several forms belonging to a single period in Egypt.¹ Even then, in the second case, we should speak of strong probability rather than of proof.

We now come, however, to much more tangible evidence. In the palace at Knossos were found two fragments of stone bowls (one of diorite and the other of liparite), of a form which occurs in Egypt in the IIIrd and IVth Dynasties.² It would seem almost fantastic to question this evidence of Egyptian trade with Crete, for the form of both vases and the material of one (diorite) seem to point clearly to Egypt. But it is just worth while to remember that although the fragments, if Egyptian of the IVth Dynasty, should be Early Minoan in date, neither was found with Early Minoan objects, for they occurred near (though not in actual association with) Middle and Late Minoan objects respectively. It is further curious that one is of Aeolian liparite, a material much more accessible to Crete than to Egypt. At the same time this by no means disproves the Egyptian origin of the bowls. One can only regret that our first tangible piece of evidence for trade relations in pre-XIIth Dynasty times is not more absolutely secure.

More certain is the evidence of the seal-stones of Crete and Egypt. Setting aside the possibilities suggested by various similarities between figures on the early cylinder-series,³ which, if definite enough to make us suspect relations, are certainly too indefinite to prove them, the earliest proof of connection is to be seen in a type of button-seal of which a good example was found in the Hagia Triada tholos.⁴ The design on this seal seems beyond all reasonable doubt to be a copy of a design which occurs first on the button-seals of Egypt in the VIth Dynasty. The circular surface of the seal is divided into two halves by a straight line, on each side of which is a couchant lion with legs toward the diameter. On the later Egyptian seals of the VIIth to XIth Dynasties the motive is partly misunderstood, and the diameter combines with the two tails to form a curved Z motive, while the lions' bodies become almost shapeless. It is this later form of the motive that is copied on the Hagia Triada seal.

¹ *Op. cit.* Pl. I. M. 3, resembles to some extent the so-called Pepi jars, while others recall Egyptian vases of much earlier date.

² *B.S.A.* viii. pp. 121-123.

³ *Scribta Minoa*, pp. 121-125.

⁴ *Op. cit.* pp. 125-129 and Fig. 65.

We have therefore evidence of connection between Egypt and Crete not later than the XIth Dynasty.

Here our evidence comes to an end.¹ It may be summed up as follows. There are no absolutely certain proofs of Egyptian influence in the Mediterranean before the XIth Dynasty, and such signs as there are all come from one place, Crete. It is thus possible, though not certain, that the relations between Egypt and Crete which we know to have existed in later times, *e.g.* XIIth Dynasty, had been established much earlier. That the Egyptians traded with the great naval kingdom of Crete does not however make it certain or even probable that they were in anything like close contact with the more barbarous and less advanced inhabitants of the Mediterranean, from whom they had clearly so much less to gain. Thus it is difficult to see how the influence of Egypt should have been responsible for the creation of megalithic monuments in Malta or the Balearic Isles. To this it may be replied that the influence was not direct, but that the Egyptians taught the use of stone to some of their nearer neighbours, *e.g.* the people of North Africa, and that the custom spread from one country to another. The answer to this objection is to be found in the nature of the megalithic monuments themselves which makes it clear that they represent an entirely different tradition and type of architecture from any which ever existed in Egypt. Thanks mainly to the work of Duncan Mackenzie,² we are able to trace, in all countries where megalithic monuments occur, the elements of a definite system of building both for houses and tombs.

Let us consider what these elements are. In the first place we find, in the earliest period of which we have any knowledge in the megalithic area, two forms of structure in juxtaposition, whether for hut or for tomb, *viz.* the round and the rectangular. The concomitant occurrence of these types over such a vast area shews that they must have existed side by side from a very remote period in the history of the megalithic race, a period previous to their expansion in the Mediterranean. Thus in Sardinia the

¹ The evidence of the early cults, which has been so well worked out by Professor Newberry in *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, vol. i., certainly seems to point to the racial affinity of the early Cretans and the Proto-Egyptians, though not necessarily to the existence at that remote period of commercial relations. Both Newberry and Hall—who curiously misunderstands Newberry on this point—are perhaps overbold in speaking of a Nilotic colonization of Crete. (See Hall, *op. cit.* p. 144.)

² See *Memnon*, ii. 1908, pp. 180 ff. *B.S.A.* xiv. pp. 345 ff.

huts are of the round type, whereas the rectangular type is preferred for the tomb. Two elliptical dolmens near Birori form exceptions to this last rule. Again, in Corsica there is a village of rectangular huts beside a series of rectangular dolmens. On the other hand, in Pantelleria we find in the village of the Mursia rectangular huts, whereas the burial chambers of the *sesi* on the same island are round.¹ In Malta we have the rectangular dolmen in juxtaposition with the apsidal type of building in the so-called 'temples' and in the hypogeum of Halsafieni. Instances might be multiplied without end to shew how these two forms, the round and the rectangular, exist side by side throughout the megalithic area from Africa to Scotland.

The second element of megalithic architecture is the use of large orthostatic slabs. This might perhaps be called the most vital element in the whole. On it depends the existence of the simplest and most important of all megalithic monuments, the dolmen. This type occurs in practically every region where there are megalithic monuments at all. Even in Sardinia² and Malta,³ where its existence was formerly denied, it has lately been discovered. Moreover the dolmen appears to be the germ of most of the more complicated types of megalithic monument. Thus many of the Scandinavian forms are simple developments of the dolmen. The same may be said of the *allées couvertes* of France, and in Sardinia Mackenzie has found types intermediate between the simple dolmen and the elaborate *Tombe dei Giganti*.⁴

Side by side with the orthostatic slab technique we have a third element, the use of dry masonry, often made of smaller stones placed more or less horizontally. It is difficult to say whether this is so essential and so ancient a feature of megalithic architecture as the last. All we know is that we see it in full use in the *nuraghi* of Sardinia, in the *talayots* of the Balearic Isles, and almost everywhere in the megalithic area of Europe, often combined with the orthostatic technique in one and the same building, as in the 'temples' of Malta. With this horizontal method of building is closely associated the corbelling of the walls to form a roof as in the *nuraghi*. Moreover in the *Tombe dei Giganti* of Sardinia and the *talayots*

¹ *Mon. Ant. Lincei*, ix. 452 ff.

² *B.S.R.* v. pp. 133-5, Fig. 17.

³ Cf. the two dolmens discovered by Professor N. Tagliaferro, one near Musta and the other near Krendi.

⁴ Cf. the dolmen tombs of Su Coveccu and s'Enna sa Vacca, *B.S.R.* v. pp. 106 and 129, Figs. 6 and 15.

of the Balearic Isles we have a very natural combination of this with the simple slab roofing which usually goes along with the plain orthostatic technique, the walls being corbelled up to a certain point and the roof then completed with slabs.

A fourth element of megalithic architecture presents much more difficult problems. It is the principle of hewing chambers in the rock. That this was known to the builders of the megalithic monuments and commonly used by them, is beyond all doubt. To be convinced of this we have only to compare the form of the rock sepulchre of S. Vincent in Majorca¹ with that of the *allée couverte* called the Grotte des Fées² near Arles in France, where rock-cutting and slab-technique are combined; indeed, the mere fact of this combination of the techniques is enough to shew them to be the work of one people. In Sardinia, the builders of the *Tombe dei Giganti* were quite ready, when necessary, to imitate them in solid rock, as they did in the case of the Molafà and St. George tombs.³ In Malta we find an even more certain case, for the men who hewed out the hypogeum of Halsafieni made every effort to imitate in the solid rock the separate blocks of an above-ground megalithic building. Their ability to do this shews that they were quite at home in hollowing out the solid rock, but their careful insistence on the imitation inclines one to think that the above-ground type of work was more familiar to them.

We cannot therefore say whether the rock-sepulchre was an original element of megalithic architecture in the sense that the orthostatic slab technique was. It is possible that even from early times this race worked underground when blocks suitable for above-ground building did not lie ready to hand, but it is far from certain. Nor can we at present accept the suggestion sometimes made that a dolmen was an imitation of a rock tomb, large rough blocks being used to represent solid rock. Excavation in Africa may go far towards solving the question, but for the present all we know is that the dolmen and the rock-sepulchre appear in most parts of the megalithic area side by side at a comparatively early period.

The system of architecture we have described is a remarkable one in many ways. It is clearly very old and primitive and it preserves its nature even in small details in almost all the countries in which it occurs. Thus

¹ Cartailhac, *Monuments primitifs des Baléares*, p. 47.

² Déchelette, *Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique celtique et gallo-romaine*, Fig. 145.

³ *B.S.A.* v. pp. 123 ff. Fig. 13.

we have for example in Sardinia a type of grave, the *Tombe dei Giganti*, in which the entrance is in the centre of a kind of concave façade. This we find reproduced in the slightly curved front of the *navetas* of the Balearic Isles, in the tomb of Los Millares in Spain,¹ in the 'temples' of Malta,² in the so-called horned cairns of Caithness,³ in the tombs of Annaclochmullin⁴ and Newbliss⁵ in Ireland, in a tomb at Maughold in the Isle of Man, and in a barrow at West Tump in Gloucestershire.⁶ Again, the small hole which occurs in the front slab of some of the dolmens and *allées couvertes* is found in India, the Caucasus, Syria, Sardinia, France, Belgium, Germany, Great Britain, and Scandinavia. Finally, the small cup-shaped markings on the stones occur in Palestine, North Africa, Spain, and Portugal, Corsica, France, the British Isles, Sweden, and Denmark.

These are things that cannot all be due to mere coincidence but which belong to the megalithic system of building. This system is one which in origin and development has little or nothing in common with the architecture of Egypt. Let us for a moment consider the origin of the latter. It appears first in the mud brick walls with which at the opening of the first dynasty the predynastic surface tombs began to be lined. Shortly afterwards follow the granite floor of the tomb of King Den, and the limestone chamber of the tomb of Khasekhemui. This is the first stone building known in Egypt, yet there is nothing megalithic about it. The stones are fairly well dressed and laid in comparatively regular horizontal courses. Nothing could be more unlike the orthostatic technique which is essential in the megalithic monuments. From the first dynasty onward horizontal masonry continued to be the method of building employed in Egypt, always of course side by side with the use of mud brick. It is difficult to see how the influence of building of this kind could have produced the dolmens as Professor Elliot Smith supposes. It is true that in Egyptian, as in most other buildings, enormous blocks of stone are used, but an uncivilized 'foreigner,' seeing Egyptian mastabas and temples and returning to his own country, while he might speak of and wish to imitate the use of stone or the size of Egyptian buildings, would certainly not be foolish

¹ *Memnon*, ii. p. 204, Fig. 22.

² Mayr, *Die vorgeschichtlichen Denkmäler von Malta*, Plan II.

³ *Memnon*, ii. pp. 208-9, Figs. 26 and 27. Compare these with the Sardinian example *B.S.R.* v. p. 116, Fig. 9.

⁴ Borlase, *Dolmens of Ireland*, i. p. 303, Fig. 278.

⁵ *Op. cit.* i. p. 291, Fig. 269.

⁶ *Op. cit.* ii. p. 460.

enough to try to emulate the Egyptians by using huge blocks of stone at a vast expense of labour when smaller ones would have served equally well.

Moreover, it is not true to say that 'the varieties in the form of the Egyptian monuments were reproduced in the dolmens, menhirs, cromlechs, and all the other forms of megalithic architecture.' It is exactly the variety and the persistence of these forms which shews that they cannot be derived from Egypt. Thus the round type of building so common in the megalithic area, has no prototype in early dynastic Egypt. It is true that the earliest form of predynastic tomb is a round or oval trench, but this, long before the first dynasty, had entirely given way before the rectangular type, which stood without a rival from that time onward. Nor do the dolmen and its derivatives bear any resemblance to any Egyptian type of tomb. A dolmen is essentially a chamber built above the ground and afterwards in some cases covered partially or wholly with a mound. The Egyptian tomb is essentially cut *in* the ground. In predynastic times it is merely a trench cut in the surface of the desert, sometimes complicated by a shelf or a recess. In the first dynasty we find a brick lining and even a division of the tomb into several parts by means of brick walls. In the second and third dynasties a corbelled roof is added and the tomb is often entered by a flight of stairs or a slope. Finally the slope gives place to a vertical shaft and the tomb becomes a subterranean chamber or series of chambers. But in addition to the burial chamber the Egyptian tomb possessed a chapel above ground. This may originally have been of wood, or in the case of poorer tombs it may have been omitted; in either case there is no trace of it in the predynastic tombs. Yet it gradually became an essential part of the tomb, and by the time of the fourth dynasty it had developed into the elaborate mastabas and pyramids of Gizeh. Thus the typical Egyptian tomb of the sixth dynasty was a shaft and chamber below ground and a mastaba of brick or stone above. Nothing could be more unlike a dolmen and yet Professor Elliot Smith tells us that it was about the sixth dynasty that the dolmen was derived from Egyptian influence.

But it may be objected that dolmens are not unknown in the Nile valley. It is true that examples have been reported from near Ladò in the Sudan,¹ but the Sudan is not Egypt. To those who imagine that the dolmen developed in Africa it is not at all surprising to find dolmens in the Sudan. They are not likely to occur in Egypt itself, because there a very

¹ Wilson and Felkin, *Uganda and the Egyptian Sudan*, ii. p. 123.

different civilisation took root and developed at an early date. The fact that a dolmen with a stone circle has been found near Egypt in the desert near Edfu, does not prove that the Egyptians ever built dolmens.¹ It was clearly erected, not by Egyptians at all, but by the nomadic tribes who inhabited the desert then as now.

So far we have been concerned with shewing that megalithic architecture is a definite system derived from the most primitive beginnings and carefully preserved, especially for burial purposes, and that there is no need to derive it from Egypt. Further, we have tried to shew that Egyptian architecture, especially as applied to tombs, is so totally different from megalithic that even supposing we were forced to derive the latter from any other at all, it could not be from Egyptian. There is a further *a priori* improbability in Professor Elliot Smith's hypothesis. He tells us that the more uncivilized peoples of the Mediterranean erected megalithic monuments in emulation of the Egyptian buildings which some of them had seen, and he adds that it was in virtue of their possession of copper that the Egyptians were able to erect such buildings. Now it is most improbable that if these nations were in close enough contact with Egypt to imitate her great stone buildings, they would have failed to learn from her the use of copper, a thing of far greater value. Professor Elliot Smith has attempted no explanation of this phenomenon, though he does give an explanation of the contrary fact that, on his theory, the Armenoids of Asia Minor adopted copper, but not megalithic monuments,² a fact which would be far more simple and explicable. He admits, however, quite rightly, that the non-possession of metal does not preclude the building of megalithic monuments. This is indeed the weakest point in his argument, for if the dolmens could be erected by a people in the stone age, as in some cases they certainly were, there is no longer any need to explain them as due to the influence of a copper-using country. It may well be that the invention of stone building in Egypt was the direct outcome of the discovery of copper tools, though it does not seem to have followed that discovery immediately. The erection of the earliest dolmens, on the other hand, needed no tools at all, either of stone or metal. Why then make it depend even indirectly on the appearance of copper in Egypt? The first dolmens were doubtless raised by men who

¹ De Morgan, *Recherches sur l'origine de l'Égypte*, 1896, p. 239, Fig. 598.

² *Op. cit.* pp. 180-1.

knew no metal, but who seized upon this way of making an imperishable tomb and monument to their dead. Perhaps great stones in themselves were in some way sacred to these people and so peculiarly suitable for funeral use.

The very fact that megalithic architecture was in the main funerary is an argument against ascribing it to Egyptian influence. What the 'Egyptian' theory comes to, when stated in all its baldness, is this. At some period about the VIth Dynasty certain natives of some region near Egypt, *e.g.* North Africa, who had heard of and perhaps even seen the great stone temples and tombs of Egypt, abandoned their old method of burying the dead (probably in the bare earth or in caves) and began to bury them in dolmens, for no other reason than that the Egyptians were in the habit of using stone to build with, whether for tombs or temples or other structures. Had these North Africans begun to build houses of stone we should have called it a natural phenomenon, but when tombs are concerned the case is different. There is nothing with regard to which a tribe or a race is more conservative than its rites of burial, bound up as they are with the whole of its religious beliefs. Thus it is unlikely that mere Egyptian influence could have caused such a change in the burial custom of these peoples, and it is, if possible, the more unlikely from the fact that the new type of tomb was far more difficult to construct than the old, and when made was far less secure as an abode of the dead. The very fact of the use of such huge blocks of stone, when smaller ones would have given an equally good result with less labour, is in itself a proof that the megalithic system of building was original and self-created, and not produced by influence from elsewhere.

It may, however, be asked if there is any more satisfactory explanation of the origin of the megalithic monuments. This is not a question which was proposed for discussion in this article and it would need far more than the space at our disposal. Moreover it is a problem which has not yet been solved and which perhaps never will be. There are, however, certain lines which every attempt at solution must follow. It must decide first of all whether all the megalithic monuments from Spain to Japan had a common origin, and, if not, into what separate groups they are to be divided. It must further go into the question of the relation of megalithic monuments to rock-hewn sepulchres, explaining why, if they have a common origin, rock sepulchres alone occur in Egypt, Caria, Lydia, Sicily,

Crete, Greece, and certain other places, and why, in any case, neither occur in certain parts of Europe and Asia. It must finally discuss the difficult question whether the appearance of megalithic monuments in any region can be explained by mere influence from abroad, or whether it must be due to an actual immigration of new people.¹

T. ERIC PEET.

¹ Of the enormous mass of literature on the subject we may quote: Bonstetten, *Essai sur les Dolmens*, Geneva, 1865; Bertrand, *Archéologie celtique et gauloise*, 2nd edit. 1889; Reinach, S., 'Le Mirage oriental' in *L'Anthropologie*, 1893, pp. 557 ff.; Montelius, *Orient und Europa*.

NOTE ON TWO ZAKRO SEALINGS.

I. I PUBLISHED a large number of clay sealings found in 1901 in a house of Late Minoan I. period at Zakro, Crete, in the *Journal of Hellenic*



FIG. I.—CLAY SEALING FROM ZAKRO.
(*J.H.S.* xxii., p. 76, No. 10).

Studies (xxii. p. 76), with photographs of casts made in Candia from the different types. A representative set of duplicate sealings was afterwards presented to me by the Cretan Government and placed in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. When I became Keeper of this Museum some years later, I had these sealings re-cleaned and re-cast, and so obtained a clearer view of one type (No. 10 on p. 78 of the original publication). As

it has some features of interest of which I was unaware previously, I republish it here.

I had described it, from collation of thirty imperfectly cleaned impressions of the type, as 'A female in long bell-skirt with hands on breast, opposed to a figure with cap and long mantle (?) from neck to feet.' This description was wrong in several particulars. The female figure on the impression is moving to the left, and has one hand on her right breast, the other on her three-fold girdle. It is impossible to determine whether her face is turned full to the front or is seen in profile one way or the other. She is followed, not opposed, by another figure in peaked cap, cloak hanging loosely from the neck to the hips, and long round skirt. This figure, (perhaps male) bears over its left shoulder a long-handled axe. The

annexed drawing (Fig. 1), which shows these details, was made by Mr. F. Anderson from collation of two impressions of the type, both defective where the head of the left-hand figure occurs. The most interesting of the newly observed details are the cloak and the weapon of the right-hand figure. The cloak gives the impression of being made of some thick material, like the felt of which the *capotes* of Cretan shepherds are still made. In form it is unique, no other Aegean representation of such a loose hanging cape having yet come to light. Mr. Anderson's drawing faithfully reproduces this garment as it is on the sealings.

About the form of the axe-head it is impossible to be quite certain, both the Ashmolean impressions of the type being rubbed at this point. The lower part is quite clearly as Mr. Anderson has drawn it; but the upper part, which he represents as stopping short and not being a blade equal to the lower blade, is not so clear. One would expect a double axe, and Sir A. Evans, who has examined the two sealings minutely, feels quite sure that this axe is intended to be double, and that the non-appearance of the upper blade of such an axe is due to the faultiness of the impressions. If, however, the form of the axe was originally as now shown in Mr. Anderson's drawing, it must be regarded as a socketed celt bound on to a handle: for the form is not that of any type of bronze Aegean axe.

2. In the same process of cleaning, the scene shown in Fig. 2 became apparent on one face of a much decayed clay nodule, which bears no types on its other two faces. Believed before this cleaning to be quite blank, it was not included in the catalogue published in *J.H.S.* cited above. Its type is of much interest because it resembles exceedingly closely that of a sealing found at Cnossus and published by Evans in vol. ix. of this *Annual* (p. 59, Fig. 37); but it will be observed that the Zakro Goddess is slightly slimmer and wears a shorter skirt, and her lion turns his head more fully backwards, and is more finely modelled. In fact this Zakro type is the Late Minoan I. original which, in the Late Minoan II. period, as seen on the Cnossian sealing, had slightly deteriorated.



FIG. 2.—CLAY SEALING OF L.M. I. PERIOD FROM ZAKRO.

D. G. HOGARTH.

THE TOPOGRAPHY OF THE SCAMANDER VALLEY.—I.

(PLATE XXI.)

THE course of the Scamander is divided into three well marked sections—valley basins divided by defiles. Beginning from the mouth we have first the Plain of Troy, of which nothing need be said here ; enough has been written about it already. It is bounded on the south by the Bally Dagh and south of this again by the Kara Dagh. Into the bay between these two runs on the east a spur of the Kayaly Dagh. These hills descend in steep slopes to the river banks, and form a gorge of limestone cliffs some four miles long, nearly as far as Sarimsak Köprü (Garlic Bridge). The path from the north mounts the slopes of the Bally Dagh to a height of over 500 feet, then descends to the river where in the middle of the gorge there lies a small secluded plain—a spot of idyllic charm—and again rises to a height of over 600 feet in order to cross the southern barrier of the Kara Dagh and reach the high road from the Dardanelles to Ezine close to Sarimsak Köprü.

From Ezine to some distance beyond Bairamich stretches the central plain. It is much longer than the Trojan ; its width is also greater, but is not easy to define, as the undulating ground by the river slopes gradually upwards both northwards and southwards to hills which are nowhere high or steep till, near the eastern end, we reach the Chali Dagh, on a lower spur of which, the Fugla Tepe, lie the inconsiderable remains of Kebrene.

The natural outlet of this portion towards the sea lies not northwards by the Bally Dagh, but westwards by a much easier road to the site of

Alexandria Troas. This path is commanded by the steep and high hill, the Chigri Dagħ, on which are still to be seen the ruins of Neandria. The ancient walls stand in places to the height of many courses, and are a very striking object. When Alexandria Troas was founded by Antigonos, it sprang at once into importance through the excavation of a large artificial harbour, and became the emporium of the rich central plain. The day for independent hill towns, all at war with one another, was over; the people of Neandria, Kebrene, Skepsis, and many smaller places were deported to the new foundation, and the old sites have been deserted ever since, with one exception—for Skepsis was restored by Lysimachos, and maintained a comparatively long existence. But even here the lofty hill has now been deserted; the peaceful agriculture of modern days calls for more accessible markets in the plain, and Ezine and Bairamich thrive in their way, though much of the plain is left waste.

Above the barrier of the Kurshunlu Tepe, on which Skepsis stood, the river again passes through a defile. The hills are not comparable for abruptness to those below Ezine, and the path throughout follows the river side at a small height. But they are too steep for cultivation, and are covered with pines. The defile is some five miles in length, and above it the valley again opens out into an undulating basin, of which part, mainly the southern half, is cultivated, while in the eastern portion forestry forms the staple trade. It maintains two villages of some size, both apparently prosperous—Chirpilar and Kara Kõi; but there is no trace of any ancient town having lain within it. The average height of this basin above the sea is about 1000 feet, and the winters are very rigorous. It rises with a gentle slope to the very head-waters of the Scamander, where they spring from a low saddle dividing them from the district of Kizil Elma, 'Red Apple,' whence flows one of the main branches of the Granikos. The height of the water-parting, where the path crosses it, is about 1385 feet. Communication towards the north-east is therefore easy, and in this direction lies the natural outlet of the eastern portion of the valley.

The hills which bound it on the north are always low. To the south and east however it is more definitely enclosed. The summit of Ida, with a complicated system of foot-hills, rises to a height of 5800 ft. on the south, and the high spur of the Gülgen Dagħ, nowhere falling below some 3400 ft., is a barrier to the east. Behind it lie the head-waters of the Aisepos, in the secluded valley of Avunia, of which it will be necessary to

speak at some length later on. For the present it is sufficient to say that



FIG. 1 A.—THE RANGE OF IDA FROM THE SITE OF SKEPSIS: VIEW TO EAST.

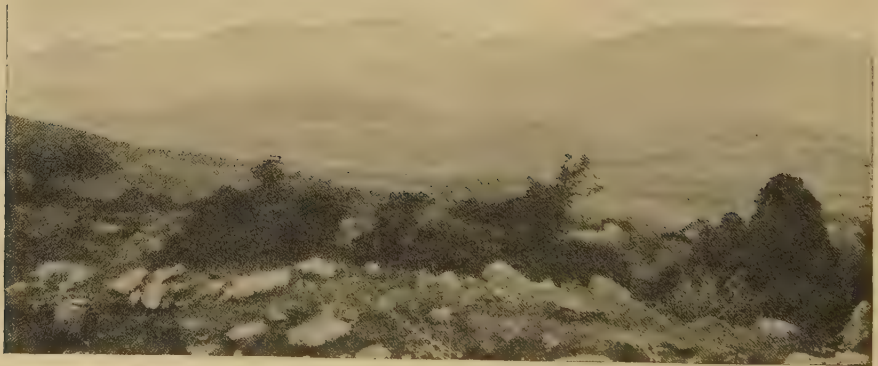


FIG. 1 B.—THE RANGE OF IDA FROM THE SITE OF SKEPSIS: VIEW TO SOUTH-EAST.

all these hills are densely clothed with pine forests, and crossed in various

directions by bridle-paths. There is nowhere any serious difficulty in communication; to the S.E. indeed in the direction of the Plain of Adramyttion, the way is long and laborious from the height which has to be crossed; but due E., between the Scamander and the Aisepos, though the additional height of over 2000 ft. makes transit more difficult than to the Granikos valley, there is no other natural obstacle, and the Hajji-öldüren pass makes a pleasant ride.

The illustrations appended will give some idea of the appearance of the upper part of the valley. Figs. 1 A and B give a panoramic view of the



FIG. 2.—THE HEAD OF THE SCAMANDER VALLEY FROM THE CAMP NEAR KARA KÖI.

range of Ida as seen from the summit of the Kurshunlu Tepe, the site of Skepsis. The middle distance in 1 B shews the higher part of the central plain above Bairamich merging into the foot-hills of Ida, which in 1 A approach the Kurshunlu Tepe, and form the defile between the middle and highest basins. The Gülgen Dagh is seen in the background on the left. Fig. 2, taken from our camp near the village of Kara Köi, shews the greater part of the Gülgen Dagh enclosing the valley towards the S.E. In Fig. 3 is seen the point at which the Gülgen Dagh turns from a north-easterly to an easterly direction. This point is called Kotylos by Strabo,

and is the meeting-place of the valleys of the Scamander, Granikos, and Aisepos. The view is taken from Kizil Elma, a mile or so E. of the actual watershed between the Scamander and Granikos, looking S.E. It can be identified on the map as the angle in the route-line where it turns sharply southwards just below the words Kizil Elma. The highest hill in the centre is Kotylos; behind it lies Avunia, and the Hajji-öldüren pass crosses the ridge a little to the right of the summit, and at a very slightly lower level. Both Kotylos and the pass lie more than 2000 feet above the point of view.

The map (Pl. XXI.) is reprinted, by permission of the Royal Geographical Society, from the *Geographical Journal* for July, 1912.



FIG. 3.—HAJJI-ÖLDÜREN (KOTYLOS) FROM THE NORTH.

With this preface we may proceed to discuss various questions which arise in connexion with the ancient topography of the district, and form the main subject of this paper.

THE SAMONIAN PLAIN.

In Kiepert's map of the Troad, and in its successor, Philippson's, the name of Samonion Pedion is given to the large middle basin of the

Scamander, extending from Ezine on the west to Bairamich on the east. Whether this attribution was first made by Kiepert I cannot find out. It is demonstrably wrong; and as it has been accepted by others since (*e.g.* by Diller and Thacher Clarke in the *Report on the Investigations at Assos*) it seems worth while to discuss it briefly.

The name does not occur at all in Strabo's description of Troas. It is cited incidentally—and this is the only place where the name is ever found—in his disquisition on the worship of the Kabeiroi and Kuretes, x. 3, 20. He there quotes from Demetrios of Skepsis certain names common to the Troad and to Crete—Ida a mountain in both; a Dikte near Skepsis and a mountain in Crete; a crest of Ida called Pytna, and the town of Hierapytna; Hippokoron near Adramyttion and Hippokoronion in Crete, *Σαμώνιον τε τὸ ἑωθινὸν ἀκρωτήριον τῆς νήσου καὶ πεδίου ἐν τῇ Νεανδρίδι καὶ τῇ Ἀλεξανδρέων*.

The promontory at the eastern extremity of Crete is commonly called Salmone (*Acts Ap.* xxvii. 7), Salmonis (*Ap. Rhod.* iv. 1693) or Salmonion (Strabo ii. 4. 3), but the form without the L is found in Pliny, Ptolemy, and Mela, and was evidently a common variant. It is confirmed by the appearance of the mythological name Samon in Nikolaos of Damascus, *Σκάμανδρος ὁ βασιλεύσας πρῶτος τῶν Τρώων, Σάμωνι χρησάμενος συνεργῶι, τοὺς ἐν τῇ Τρωιάδι ἐνίκησεν· ἀποθανόντος δὲ Σάμωνος κατὰ τὴν μάχην κ.τ.λ.* (fr. 21, Müller, *F.H.G.* iii. p. 369). The legend here given is connected with the story of the immigration of Cretans under Skamandros and the attack by the field-mice, and is probably not from Demetrios; it is therefore possible that the name Samon may go back to Kallinos, or at least Hellanikos.¹ There is thus good confirmation, if confirmation of Demetrios in such a matter is needed, for the reality of Samonion as a local name certainly in the Troad, probably in Crete.

The site of Neandria, on the summit of the conspicuous Chigri Dagħ, is as well ascertained as that of Alexandria itself.² The words of Strabo can only mean that the Samonian Plain lay on the boundaries of the two, *i.e.* west of the Chigri Dagħ. It is hardly necessary to make a further appeal to probabilities, and point out how absurd it is to suppose that

¹ It is sufficient here to refer to the authorities for this legend in Roscher's *Lex. s.v. Skamandros*, vol. iv. col. 984—where the passage of Nik. Dam. however seems to have been overlooked: and Gruppe, *Gr. Myth. und Religionsgeschichte*, p. 301.

² See J. Thacher Clarke, 'A Proto-Ionic Capital from Neandria,' in *Papers of the American Archaeological Association*.

Demetrios should attribute to the territories of Alexandria and Neandria a plain of which half lay within the domain of his own Skepsis.

The fact is that the middle basin of the Scamander valley had no single name in classical times; for it was politically divided in a curious way. The northern half, with the hill country behind it, belonged to Skepsis, the southern, which was 'mostly plain,' to Kebrene (Strabo, xiii. 1. 33); so that the river was, apparently for all the length of the basin, the frontier of the two towns which, as we shall see, were in a chronic state of war. Demetrios apparently pushed this division back to Homeric times;



FIG. 4.—THE SAMONIAN PLAIN FROM ALEXANDRIA TROAS.

for as Homer mentions Kebriones as a bastard son of Priam, he concludes that Kebrene was part of the realm of Priam and not of Aeneas. That Kebriones is the eponymos of Kebrene, which Homer does not name, is likely enough; but the division by the river probably arose, as we shall presently see, in a later age than the Homeric. In fact Strabo includes the whole valley of the Scamander under the general name of the Trojan Plain (τοιούτων δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ τόπων ὄντων ὑπέρκειται τούτων τὸ Τρωϊκὸν πεδίου μέχρι τῆς Ἰδῆς ἀνῆκον ἐπὶ πολλοὺς σταδίους κατὰ τὸ πρὸς ἕω μέρος, *ibid.*)

The middle Scamander valley being thus excluded, there is little difficulty in identifying the Samonian Plain of Demetrios. The country

in a direct line between Neandria and Alexandria, though low compared with the heights of Chigri, is too broken and diversified to be properly called a plain. But just north of this line it falls to a more even level, and the appended illustration will shew that, in spite of gentle undulations, the title of plain-land can hardly be denied to it (Fig. 4). The same cannot be said of the country to the south, at least for some little distance.

The view is taken from a point a little to the east of the walls of Alexandria, looking N.E. Whether it includes, on the extreme right, any part of the territory of Neandria, it is naturally impossible to say; but the boundary cannot have been far off.

What the ruins in the foreground may have been has not, I think, been determined. They are late Roman brickwork, and weathered almost beyond recognition. The local name for them is Deirmen Yapu, 'Mill Building.'

The plain is covered with *valonia* oaks, the northern part of the oak forest which extends for some ten miles to the south between the coast and the hill-country.

BIRYTOS.

Among the Athenian tributaries in the Hellespontine district appear in several lists¹ the ΒΕΡΥΣΙΟΙ, sometimes with the addition οἱ ὑπὸ τῇ Ἰδῇ evidently to distinguish them from the inhabitants of the more famous Berytos in Phoenicia. The name has already been interpreted as Βηρύσιοι,² and connected with the coin-inscription ΒΙΡΥ, by Büchner (Pauly-Wissowa, *Suppl.* I, col. 249).

The coins were known to come from the Troad, but so far as I can find there has been no attempt to locate the site of the town, about which nothing more than the name is recorded. That it was of very small importance is shewn by the amount of its tribute, only 10 minae. 'The only coins are electrum hectae of the Phocaeian standard and bronze,' dated 'circ. B.C. 400-300' (Head, *H.N.* p. 470).

The bronze coinage of the small towns of the Troad never wanders far away from its place of origin—a fact of which Mr. Hasluck and I had abundant opportunity of convincing ourselves during our recent visit. We turned over many hundreds which were offered for sale either by peasants or more frequently by the money-changers in the towns. Out

¹ *C.I.A.* I, 226, 228, 231, 234.

² Not necessarily; cf. Σεκυών—Σικυών.

of these hundreds we identified only four with the legend BIPY, one at Ezine and three at Bairamich.

A town specifically described as 'under Idà' must lie either in the Scamander valley on the north or on the strip of coast along the Gulf of Adramyttion to the south. The latter may I think be definitely excluded on the evidence of our coins. The upper basin of the Scamander east of Kurshunlu Tepe is not a likely place; no ancient site has ever been found in it, and no coins were offered to us during the three days we spent in it. We are therefore restricted to the middle basin of the Scamander, from Ezine to Bairamich, and still more closely to the eastern end of it where Bairamich lies. This is the only portion of the large plain which can be said to lie 'under Ida,' and the relative frequency of the coins in this part goes to confirm this conclusion.

Whether Bairamich is actually on the site of Birytos or Berytos is only a matter of conjecture. The spot is evidently a favourable one for a market; here a large affluent from the north joins the Scamander, offering in its valley an easy route to Chan Bazar Kõi, the market place of the upper Granikos district, and still the scene of a great annual fair, while other routes lead to Narly and Papasly in the south and Edremid to the south-east. This central position has made it one of the chief towns of the Troad, and the seat of a kaimmakam. It lies on a plateau traversed by a small stream, and some 100 feet above the Scamander, from which it is separated by a fairly steep scarp. On the south side however the plateau slopes gently upwards to the neighbouring hills, and has no natural defence. Any Greek town which may have stood there must in all probability have been unfortified, and have existed by sufferance of its big neighbours, Kebrene and Skepsis. These two towns, perched on their strong hill-sites, were, as we know from Demetrios of Skepsis, always at variance (*ἐχθραν δ' αἰεὶ καὶ πόλεμον εἶναι τοῖς τε Κεβρηνοῖς καὶ τοῖς Σκηψίοις ἕως Ἀντιγόνοιο αὐτοὺς συνώκισεν εἰς τὴν τότε μὲν Ἀντιγόνοιαν, νῦν δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν*, Strabo, xiii. 1, 33). They probably found it worth while to maintain a neutral market place equidistant from the two, where they could meet for purposes of commerce without having to fight. For such a purpose the open and easily accessible district in which Bairamich lies was marked out by nature. The rival mints doubtless allowed the market town to coin small change for the convenience of its customers—a practice not unknown, though of course illegal, in parts of Turkey to-day.

But though it seems fairly clear that Biryotos must have stood in the immediate neighbourhood of Bairamich, it is not possible to prove that it stood on the exact site. Little weight can be laid on the rather distant similarity of the names. Greek towns in the Troad have rarely left such traces, and even where the genealogy is clear it does not imply identity of site: Edremid is certainly Adramyttion, yet it stands some miles from the ancient town. It is possible, but no more, that Bairamich may be a reminiscence of Biryotos, adapted to the Persian *Bairam*, the name, familiar throughout Turkey, of two of the great Moslem feasts.

The question is not likely ever to be decided. No evidence short of an inscription indisputably *in situ* would be conclusive; and it is improbable that this will ever be found. There are indeed plenty of ancient remains at Bairamich; but these have within the last century been brought from the ruins of Skepsis on the Kurshunlu Tepe. The valley was for long under the semi-independent rule of the feudal family of Hadem Zade. A little more than a hundred years ago Osman Bey, the chieftain of the day, was seized with the idea of progress, and built on a large scale—roads, bridges, houses, mosques. Dr. E. D. Clarke was on the spot in 1801, just in time to give an account of the huge remains of Skepsis (*Travels*, Ed. 4, vol. iii. pp. 163–168, 185). When Barker Webb came in 1819, the work of destruction on the Kurshunlu Tepe had already done its worst. There are some remains of Doric columns in the forecourt of the mosque of Bairamich; an inscription over the door records the building of it by Hadem Zade Osman Bey and his brother in A.H. 1207 (A.D. 1792–3), and another on the bridge ascribes it to Hadem Zade el Hajji Osman Bey in the year A.H. 1210 (A.D. 1795–6), so between those dates he must have performed his pilgrimage.

The ravages on the site of Skepsis have never ceased since. There was still something for Schliemann to see in 1881 (*Troja*, Eng. Tr. 271), but everything above the surface has now disappeared, and quarrying is carried on only in the old foundations. Everything goes to Bairamich, where Mr. Munro was lucky enough in 1899 to find a long and interesting inscription (*J.H.S.* xix. 330). It is not likely therefore that, if there ever was a Greek town at Bairamich, any stones of it have been left unused, and anything there found must, in the absence of decisive proof to the contrary, be ascribed to Skepsis.

SKEPSIS AND PALAISKEPSIS.

The site of Skepsis long remained a problem, so obscure and indeed contradictory were the data to be gathered from Strabo. Both it and its parent town of Palaiskepsis were generally placed in the upper valley of the Granikos, the rich but isolated district now called Avunia, surrounded on all sides by high hills on which the snow lies deep in winter, and possessing no valley outlet whatever—for no path follows the gorge by which the Granikos pierces the barrier.

Pullan was the first to place the site in the main Scamander valley, on the high hill of the Kurshunlu Tepe. His conjecture was founded on the coins discovered in that neighbourhood; they are still abundant in the cash-boxes of the money-changers of Bairamich. The evidence proved as usual trustworthy; that the ruins on the Tepe were indeed those of Skepsis was placed beyond doubt when Judeich discovered an inscription, since published in the Kiepert *Festschrift* (1898), p. 225.

The question of Palaiskepsis however still remains unsettled, and I do not pretend to fix on any definite site. But it is possible I think to reduce the matter into fairly narrow limits, and exclude one or two unwarranted pretenders. There are several passages to be taken into consideration.

Strabo, xiii. 1, 52 ἔστι δ' ἡ μὲν Παλαίσκηψις ἐπάνω Κεβρήνος κατὰ τὸ μετεωρότατον τῆς Ἰδῆς ἐγγὺς Πολίχνας· ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ τότε Σκῆψις, εἴτ' ἄλλως εἴτ' ἀπὸ τοῦ περισκεπτον εἶναι τὸν τόπον . . . ὕστερον δὲ κατωτέρω σταδίοις ἐξήκοντα εἰς τὴν νῦν Σκῆψιν μετωκίσθησαν ὑπὸ Σκαμανδρίου τε τοῦ Ἐκτορος καὶ Ἀσκανίου τοῦ Αἰνείου παιδός.

This seems definite enough. Kiepert accordingly puts "Palaiskepsis" at a point duly measured to 60 stades above Kurshunlu Tepe, on the heights of Ida, on the side which would seem to justify the reference to Kebrene. The name is a long one, and takes up a good deal of space on the map; but I feel the utmost confidence in saying that it does not cover, or even approach, any spot where it is possible to conceive the existence, whether in ancient days or modern, of any town, village, or even hamlet, other than possibly the brown tents of a few nomads tending their goats in the heat of summer. This slope of Ida is formed of limestone precipices below and the bare shoulder above where the snow lies till June; it is wholly cut off from any source of production, save timber; it lies on no road to anywhere and can neither defend nor threaten; at best, when the Alps are

fully covered with hotels, it may some day become a Luftkurort, recommended to retiring spirits by its extreme inaccessibility.

Its complete impossibility as a site might be a sufficient proof that here at least Palaiskepsis did not lie. But other arguments are not wanting. It is said to be 'near Polichna,' and where Polichna was we approximately know. It lay much further east, in the secluded upper valley, the αὐλών, as Strabo calls it, of the Aisepos.¹ This is what Strabo says in another place (xiii. i, 45); the portions which I give are a quotation, apparently verbal, from Demetrios, and the controversial comments of Strabo himself, which do not bear upon the immediate point, are omitted. τοῦ δ' αὐλώνος τοῦ περὶ τὸν Αἰσηπον ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ῥύσεως αὐτοῦ πρῶτόν ἐστι Πολίχνα, τειχῆρες χωρίον, εἴθ' ἡ Παλαίσκηψις, εἴτ' Ἀλαζόνιον . . . εἶτα Κάρησος κ.τ.λ. . . , ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ τοῦ Αἰσήπου μεταξὺ Πολίχνας τε καὶ Παλαισκήψεως ἡ Νέα Κώμη ² . . . , φησὶ δ' οὖν τὴν Παλαίσκηψιν τῆς μὲν Νέας διέχειν πεντήκοντα σταδίους, τοῦ δὲ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Αἰσήπου τριάκοντα· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Παλαισκήψεως ταύτης διατεῖναι τὴν ὁμωνυμίαν καὶ εἰς ἄλλους πλείους τόπους.

Exactly what the last sentence means I do not venture to say. The 'extension of the homonymy to other places' would seem to imply that there was more than one competitor for the name of Palaiskepsis. Of this however there is no trace in literature. If, as it is almost necessary to assume, the sense is only that it was from this earlier Skepsis that the historic town took its name, it is hard to conceive a clumsier or more ambiguous form of expression. But one thing is clear: that Palaiskepsis was in the Aulon, only some three miles from the river itself, and quite at the head of the valley, to judge from yet another passage, xii. 3, 23, τὰ γὰρ περὶ τὴν Σκήψιν τοποθετῶν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδα (Δημήτριος) πλησίον τῆς Σκήψεως καὶ τοῦ Αἰσήπου Ἐνέαν Κώμην καὶ Ἀργυρίαν λέγει καὶ Ἀλαζόνιον. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν εἰ καὶ ἔστι, πρὸς ταῖς πηγαῖς ἃν εἴη τοῦ Αἰσήπου.

Certain though this must be regarded, it is in direct contradiction with the statement that Skepsis was '60 stades lower down' than Palaiskepsis. The least distance from Skepsis to Kotylos, the ridge which lies between the river-systems of the Aisepos and the Scamander, is, as Strabo rightly states (xiii. i, 43), about 120 stades. Since Palaiskepsis lies on the other

¹ The modern name, Avunia, has all the appearance of a corruption, under Turkish influence, of Avlúni, the regular representative in modern Greek of αὐλών.

² The correct reading is perhaps Αἰνέα κώμη. See below, p. 281.

side of Kotylos, in the Aisepos system, it must certainly be more than this from Skepsis. The simplest solution of the difficulty is to suppose that a figure has dropped out—that Strabo wrote not ξ' but ρξ'. A distance of 160 stades, 16 geographical or 19 statute miles, from Skepsis would take us well across the water-shed into Avunia and the head-waters of the Aisepos, to the very point which seems to be indicated in the other passages.

There still remain certain odd expressions which probably arise from Strabo's own ignorance of the country, leading to mistakes in copying Demetrios. Why, for instance, should he define the position of Palaiskepsis as 'above Kebren, in the highest part of the Ida range'? It is of course true that Palaiskepsis is in a sense above Kebren or Kebrene; but Skepsis itself is much nearer, and in other respects a better point of reference. The expression too, that Skepsis is 'lower down' than Palaiskepsis, though in a sense perhaps true, is not a wise way of stating—or hiding—the fact that they lie in different valley systems, running in opposite directions, and separated by a high mountain ridge. But the prize for inept description is undoubtedly to be given to the location of the sources of the unknown river Karesos in xiii. 1.44, as 'at Malus, a certain place lying between Palaiskepsis and Achaion on the shore facing Tenedos.' What would be thought of a topographer who said that the source of the Thames was 'at a place lying between Gloucester and Dungeness'?

As I have explained elsewhere¹ the head waters of the Aisepos are separated from those of the Scamander by a ridge which, nowhere falling below 3400 feet, runs from the main chain of Ida north-eastward, and at the point where it bends due east, to enclose Avunia on the north as well as the west, forms the orographic centre of the Troad; for here the river systems of the Scamander, the Granikos; and the Aisepos meet. This is the point to which Demetrios gives the name of Kotylos (Strabo, xiii. 1, 43, ἔστι γὰρ λόφος τις τῆς Ἰδῆς Κότυλος· ὑπέρκειται δ' οὗτος ἑκατόν πον καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίοις Σκήψεως, ἔξ οὗ ὃ τε Σκάμανδρος ῥεῖ καὶ ὁ Γράνικος καὶ Αἷσηπος, οἱ μὲν πρὸς ἄρκτον καὶ τὴν Προποντίδα ἐκ πλείονων πηγῶν συλλειβόμενοι, ὁ δὲ Σκάμανδρος ἐπὶ δύοσιν ἐκ μιᾶς πηγῆς· πᾶσαι δ' ἀλλήλαις πλησιάζουσιν, ἐν εἴκοσι σταδίων περιεχόμεναι διαστήματι· πλείστον δ' ἀφέστηκεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ τοῦ Αἰσήπου τέλος, σχεδόν τι καὶ πεντακοσίους σταδίους). Though the Scamander valley is thus separated by a lofty wall from the Aisepos valley, it has easy communication with the Granikos

¹ *Geographical Journal*, July 1912.

system to the north-east by a low col of only 1385 feet ; while Avunia is hemmed in on all sides, even on the east, where the Aisepos descends through a gorge not traversed by any road, and the bridle path to the Propontis leads from Balia Bazar K., the chief village of Avunia (564 ft.)¹ by a pass of 1095 ft. into the neighbouring valley of the Deirmen Dere, and after a descent to 680 ft. again mounts to 1466 ft. in order to reach Gönen over a bare and uninhabited plateau. The equally bare and exposed hills which on the south separate Avunia from the Plain of Thebe and Adramyttion nowhere fall below the 500 metre (1640 ft.) level, and for the greater part are much above it.

The population of this secluded district was therefore to a great extent protected from outside pressure ; but the resources of the country were considerable, and must have attracted the envy of their neighbours. The district is rich in minerals ; and though no mines are now worked in Avunia itself—in the next valley Balia Maden is the centre of a considerable industry owned and actively carried on by European capitalists—yet the shafts and tailings among the hills on the southern border shew that the production of lead and silver in ancient days must have been considerable. The pressure of invasion was therefore certain to come in time ; and when it came it must have been violent in proportion to the difficulties it had to surmount, and have acted on the existing population with explosive effect.

There is in fact abundant evidence that, at some time after the Trojan War—which I beg leave here to assume as an historical event—such pressure came from the north-east, when the Bithynians, unknown to the Trojan *Catalogue*, crossed from Thrace and displaced the Phrygians who at the date of the *Catalogue* held the country afterwards known as Bithynia. Some of the Phrygians were driven westward among the Mysians, into the Lesser or Hellespontine Phrygia, others southwards into the highlands of Greater Phrygia. The Aulon of the Aisepos could not escape the effects of such a thrust.

What happened to the inhabitants of the eastern part of Avunia at this time we can only guess ; they may have been driven up the valley to the *cul de sac* at the western end, or they may have found a way southward to the Plain of Thebe. But for the inhabitants of the older Skepsis,

¹ I take these facts, in the absence of personal knowledge, from Philippson, *Topographische Karte des westl. Kleinasiens*

apparently in the very centre of the western basin, and hemmed in to the north, west and south by ranges of forest-clad hills rarely less than 3,000 feet in height, the position was serious. Their easiest outlet was to the north; but here the country was not tempting: it was mostly forest with little opportunity for agriculture. To the south the Plain of Thebe was not far in distance, but the hills were highest and most difficult; and besides, the plain was doubtless already occupied to the full, by immigrants from the west, by sea, and from the east, by easier passes. They had therefore no choice but to escape from the trap to the west, into the Scamander valley. The upper basin of this was not much better than the lands to the north—largely occupied by forest, though not without a considerable stretch which, as its present condition shews, was, if not cultivated, at least susceptible of cultivation. But just beyond this was the rich middle basin of the Scamander, then in the possession of Kebrene. It appears therefore that the inhabitants of Skepsis swarmed over the pass now called Hajji-öldüren into the upper basin of the Scamander, and pushed down it till they had seized the hill of Kurshunlu Tepe, which effectually commands the Scamander valley at the point where it is narrowed to a defile by foot-hills from the north and south. Here they established themselves in a fortress which, after the fashion of emigrants, they called by the name of their old home Skepsis. The situation was so strong that they not only held effectually the upper valley in their rear, but were enabled to rob Kebrene of all the northern portion of their territory in the middle basin, the river itself ultimately offering a certain obstacle to hostilities, and so establishing itself as a boundary between the two towns, though never effective in putting an end to the traditional enmity arising from the successful spoliation.

Such a course of events seems to be implied on the one hand by the position of Palaiskepsis and Skepsis in two different valleys separated by a high range of hills, and on the other by the tradition, which said that Skepsis was founded from Palaiskepsis by Skamandrios son of Hector and Askanios son of Aeneas. This at all events means that the foundation of Skepsis took place after the Trojan War. It may perhaps imply more—that the invaders from Avunia belonged to the kindred race of the closely connected Troes and Dardani, and shared with them the claim to a pedigree from Aeneas and Tros. It would be rash to assume this:

invaders often enough set up a claim to ancestry in which they had no share, in order to legitimize an invasion.

But there is a possible trace of community of origin in the name Ainea applied to a village in the neighbourhood of Palaiskepsis, and also in an otherwise unknown river Ainios, apparently in this neighbourhood. If these names are right, there would be some ground for supposing that the name of Aineias came from this very district of Avunia, and that the Dardani were settled here in very early days.

Unfortunately however the reading of the MSS. is very uncertain. In xii. 3, 23, they give *Ἐνέα κόμη*, in xiii. 1, 45, in one part of the chapter *ἡ Νέα Κώμη*, and a few lines later on *τῆς Αἰνέας, Αἰνέας, Νείας*. The natural presumption is in favour of the more unusual form *Αἰνέα*, which most easily accounts for the rest; but we must not entirely neglect Steph. Byz. *s.v.* *Νέαι*. *ἔστι δὲ καὶ Νέα, κόμη καὶ φρούριον Μυσίας* (under *Αἰνεία* he mentions only the Thracian town of that name). Pliny's Nea (*H.N.* v. 124) does not come into reckoning, as it seems to lie, if the order of names counts for anything in Pliny's farrago, between Sigeum and Alexandria Troas. There was doubtless many a 'Newtown' in any district of the Greek world which you might choose.

Nor is the river Ainios introduced, on its single appearance, in a manner which inspires confidence. We are told that the Rhodios flows from Kleandria and Gordos, which is 60 stades from the Great Pine (*καλὴ πεύκη*) and runs into the Ainios (xiii. 1, 44). But in xiii. 1, 28, the Rhodios runs into the Hellespont opposite Kynossema; 'but others say that it runs into the Aisepos.' This is obviously good ground for suspicion that in the former place Ainios is a mere corruption of Aisepos. The other places named in connexion with it are incapable of identification; Kleandria and Gordos are entirely unknown, and of the Great Pine we can only say that it must have stood on the hills somewhere at the head of Avunia.

Thus, while there is some ground for thinking that a village of Ainea really existed in this neighbourhood, no confirmation of the possibility is to be found in the name of the Ainios; and it remains a mere conjecture that Avunia was the original home of Aeneas and his legend, or at least may have formed part of his realm in Trojan times.

Be that as it may, it is clear that Skepsis kept a hold on the territory of its old metropolis beyond the mountain range. For among the places

mentioned as lying close to Skepsis is Polichna, 'a fortified place'; and the meaning of such a fort on the further eastern slope of the bounding ridge can only have been to give Skepsis a good grip on Avunia. The central part of their territory was the upper basin of the Scamander; this was strategically commanded by the hill of Skepsis on the west and Polichna on the east. From this as a base, Skepsis, as we know from Demetrios, could hold possession of all the ground on the north bank of the Scamander, and with it the upper valley system of the Granikos, where, so far as can be told, there lay in ancient times no town of any importance. Indeed this hill-country, mainly covered with forests of oak and pine, could give no support for more than a village population. It is included by Demetrios under the general name of Karesene, and is said to extend 'as far as the district of Zeleia and Pityeia,' again a very odd way of describing it, but capable of interpretation as meaning the hill-country as far as the point where, at the modern Bigha, the Granikos debouches into the lower plain, called by the name of Adrasteia. In all this district the only town named by Strabo—unless we are to include the unknown Kleandria and Gordos—is Karesos, and that is ruined. It is in fact a land of villages, as Demetrios says: *συνπίπτει δ' εἰς αὐτὸν ὁ Ἄνδιρος ἀπὸ τῆς Καρησηνῆς, ὀρεινῆς τινος πολλαῖς κώμαις συνοικουμένης, καὶ γεωργουμένης καλῶς*—a description which is still correct, if the excellence of the agriculture is interpreted with due regard to the conditions of Turkish rule. The two easy lines of access to this country from the south were both commanded by Skepsis, one road running from the neighbourhood of Bairamich, the other from the extreme end of the Scamander valley, and both converging on Chan Bazar Köi, the natural market of all this hill-country.

It is easy to see that control of this large district gave Skepsis the leading position in the central Troad in succession to Kebrene, which once no doubt from its hill-fortress had dominated the whole valley. To be robbed of this position by intruders from the east was a cruel blow which could never be forgiven. Skepsis became so powerful that after the removal of its population, like those of the neighbouring towns, to Antigonos' new city on the western coast, the Skepsians alone, it would seem, had influence enough to obtain from Lysimachos the restitution of their independence; and Skepsis became to some extent a centre of culture in Alexandrian days. It existed as a town well into

Byzantine times, as a bishopric under the patronage of Cornelius the centurion, and from Dr. E. D. Clarke's account the ruins in his day must have been at least as impressive as those of Assos.

Palaiskepsis on the other hand must have decayed at a very early date, and it seems doubtful if in the days of Demetrios it was more than an abandoned site. One is even inclined to ask whether it was more than a legendary tradition, kept up in order to assert a foundation for claims of Skepsis to territory in the district. The one name in the district which is indisputable is that of Polichna. This seems to have been the principal town in the days of Pliny and Strabo; the latter speaks of it as still fortified, the former names the Polichnaei among the communities which resorted to the market of Adramyttion (*H.N.* v. 123). Doubtless it derived its importance from the lead and tin mines in the neighbourhood. It might still be possible to discover for it a site at once capable of fortification and near the stream of the Aisepos—what is meant by 'the left side' of the stream is a question of some doubt unless one is more sure of scientific accuracy in the use of terms than one can be with Strabo and Demetrios. Any remains of ancient walls near Chavush Köi, the chief modern village of this part, would be almost certainly those of Polichna, and Kiepert is right in putting 'Polichna?' at this point. The question must wait until the valley of Avunia has been more carefully examined. It is a matter of regret to me that we did not find time to visit this interesting district; the exploration of it must now, I fear, be left to younger enquirers.

WALTER LEAF.

(To be continued.)

ANNUAL MEETING OF SUBSCRIBERS.

THE Annual Meeting of subscribers to the School was held in the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, on Tuesday, November 7th, 1911, the RIGHT REVEREND THE DEAN OF WESTMINSTER presiding.

The Secretary of the School (Mr. J. ff. BAKER-PENOYRE) submitted the following report on behalf of the Managing Committee.

The Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Foundation of the School :—

Before this report is issued the subscribers will be aware that this year forms a notable landmark in the history of the School. Founded in 1886, the year 1911 completes the twenty-fifth year of its existence. The interest of the occasion moved the Managing Committee to ask their Chairman, Mr. George Macmillan, to write a short history of the School from its foundation down to the present time. Since that work is already in the hands of the subscribers, the Committee forbear any lengthy reference to the Anniversary Festival in this Report. Here they will only record their gratitude to all those who, by good help of any kind or degree, have carried the School to the position it now holds, and their hope that in the years to come that position may be both maintained and increased.

The New Excavations :—Now that the excavations at Sparta are successfully over, the Committee and the Director have made careful search for a new field for the activities of the School. After protracted negotiations they have the pleasure to announce that the Imperial Ottoman Government has just granted a firman for excavations on a promising site on the Dorian promontory, to the east of ancient Knidos. The spot, which once bore the Greek name Akanthos, is now known by the modern Turkish name of Datcha. Mr. Dawkins has twice visited the site and reports that there is reason to suppose that this is an archaic Greek sanctuary with votive offerings. The remains of the ancient city are extensive, but it is only proposed to excavate this sanctuary, which lies in a small valley near the sea. Mr. Dawkins will go out specially to take charge of the excavation.

No appeal for funds has been issued since 1908 and during the interval the School has shewn uninterrupted activity. The work on Sparta has been finished, a supplementary campaign at Phylakopi completed in one session, three volumes of the *Annual* have appeared, and the general *Index* to this as also the *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum* are on the eve of publication. Tasks like these have depleted the reserve fund and the Committee propose to issue a special appeal for the excavation at Datcha forthwith.

The Director :—Mr. Dawkins, after returning to Athens at the beginning of November, went to Datcha to get the local information necessary for application for a firman for excavation. He was accompanied by Mr. Halliday. The boycott of Greek shipping and the quarantine regulations made steamers infrequent, and the journey further hindered by bad weather, took several weeks. These delays were used to visit Ephesos, Patmos, Kos and Knidos. He then went to Melos to make the local arrangements for the excavation, visiting the chief ancient sites in the island, and then spent some time at Sparta. Here he worked in the Museum at the arrangement and publication of the finds from the Orthia excavation, superintended the photographer, and wrote for the *Annual*. Both at Sparta and in Melos he was accompanied by Mr. Halliday. In April and May he conducted the excavation at Melos. He spoke at two open meetings of the School. His published work for the year consists of an account of the work at Sparta in the *Annual*, a paper on Archaeology in Greece in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, and one on Excavation in Greece in *The Year's Work in Classical Studies*. He sat as a member of the Committee for the approaching Congress of Orientalists at Athens. In July and August he travelled in Cappadocia. This is the third summer he has spent there, gathering material for a work on the dialects of Greek spoken in Asia Minor.

Mr. Dawkins will now take a well-earned year's leave of absence from the School, his place being filled by Mr. Hasluck as Acting Director. Mr. Dawkins will, however, go out to superintend the excavation at Datcha.

The Assistant Director and Students :—Mr. F. W. Hasluck, M.A., late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, Assistant-Director of the School, arrived in Athens in October, and with the exception of a short excursion to the Meteora remained there all the winter. During this period he was occupied with his official duties, preparation of articles for the *Annual*, and preliminary work for travel in the spring.

In March he left for Constantinople with the twofold object of making arrangements for a tour in the Troad with Dr. Leaf during April and May, and of some preliminary investigation in the district of Thrace about Kirk Kilisse which Mr. Hasluck intends to explore more thoroughly later. The route of this preliminary journey was—Adrianople, Kirk Kilisse, Bunar Hissar, Lule Burgaz. The results of this week's work were naturally of a provisional nature: a few inscriptions and much information were collected, a late Byzantine church at

Genna roughly planned, and a beehive tomb was discovered, dating apparently from the 4th-3rd century B.C., but vaulted horizontally and perfectly preserved. Mr. Hasluck hopes to make further journeys in the neighbourhood in the company of H.B.M.'s consul at Adrianople, Major Rhys Sampson. He intends to visit (1) the hill region of the Istranja Dagħ, including Midia (Salmydessos) and Viza (Biziye); (2) the Maritza (Hebros) Valley, the area being capable of extension should results justify.

In April Mr. Hasluck started from Athens with Dr. Leaf for the Dardanelles, which they made their headquarters for five weeks. From it they made two circular tours, visiting:—1. The Troad proper, including the sites of Rhoeteon, Ophryinion, Troy, Sigeon, Neandria, Alex. Troas, the Smintheon (Kulakli), Lekton, the Palamedion (Sivriji), Assos, Antandros, Adramyttion, summit of Ida, springs of Scamander, Skepsis, Kebrene: 2. The Hellespontine cities, including Lampsacus, Parium, Priapus, Bogha Shehr (Sidene?), and the Thermae of Artemis at Boyuk Tepe Keui. Some new inscriptions were copied, some interesting local coins collected, and a new prehistoric site located at Iné. They were indebted to H.B.M.'s vice-consul, Mr. C. Palmer, for official support and personal kindness. Mr. Hasluck later visited Mount Athos, where he twice made a complete tour of the Monasteries making drawings and architectural studies.

The Committee desire to congratulate Mr. Hasluck on the publication of his work on Cyzicus, by the Cambridge University Press. They have recently had the pleasure of appointing him to act as Director of the School during Mr. Dawkins' year of absence. They feel confident that the School, which has long gained distinction from his scholarly attainments, will profit no less by his forethought and administrative capacity in his new office.

Mr. J. P. Droop, B.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge, came out for work at Sparta and Melos. At Sparta he concluded his study of the pottery from the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, and superintended the necessary photography and drawings. At Melos he worked at the excavation, taking charge of the pottery, in which his experience at the Spartan excavation made him of great service.

Mr. W. R. Halliday, B.A., of New College, Oxford, went out with the Craven Fellowship. He assisted throughout at the excavations at Phylakopi and spent the rest of his time in making extensive journeys in Asia Minor, including Cappadocia and Pontus, the Greek islands, Northern and Central Greece, the Peloponnesus and Attica. Mr. Halliday read a paper at the first open meeting of the School on some points in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter. Mr. Halliday has since been appointed a Lecturer in Greek at the University of Glasgow, but the Committee hope that he may still be able to take part in the excavations at Datcha in the summer of 1912.

Miss D. Lamb, of Newnham College, Cambridge, holder of a special Studentship, went out to catalogue the terracottas in the Acropolis Museum for the second volume of the School *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, and devoted the winter to this important work, with which good progress has been made. In the

spring Miss Lamb took part in the excavations at Phylakopi, and travelled in Euboea, Crete, Aetolia, and the Peloponnesus. On her way home she made further studies of terracotta figurines in the Louvre Museum.

Mr. H. A. Ormerod, B.A., Queen's College, Oxford, went out with grants from the Craven Fund and his college for work in Asia Minor. After visits to Olympia and Paros and preliminary study in Athens he left at the end of February in company with Mr. C. E. Robinson for Smyrna and Adalia. He spent the greater part of March in Pamphylia, where he visited the sites of Perge, Aspendos, and Side and discovered two small sites to the north of Adalia. During April and May he travelled in Lycia visiting the principal sites and copying some new inscriptions. After Mr. Robinson's return Mr. Ormerod made further explorations during June and July in ground he had covered last year in Pisidia, visiting the two Hittite monuments at Fassiler and Eflatona Bounar and examining the chief upland plains.

Mr. E. S. G. Robinson, B.A., of Christ Church College, Oxford, the School Student of the year, spent six weeks working chiefly at numismatics in the Museum at Athens. He then went on a tour with Mr. Halliday round the principal sites of Central and Southern Greece. Leaving Athens again at the end of February, he accompanied Mr. Ormerod on an expedition in Pamphylia and Lycia, visiting the principal places of those districts, including Adalia, the Istanos plain, Perge, Aspendos, Sillyon, Side, Magydos, Phaselis, Olympos, Gagae, Rhodiapolis, Myra, Kyaneae, Antiphellos, Castellorizo, Xanthos, Ilos, Telmessos, Sidyma, and other minor sites, as well as Smyrna and Rhodes. In company with Mr. Ormerod, two seemingly new sites were discovered in Pamphylia, and many inscriptions copied throughout the journey. Particular attention was paid to the numismatic aspects of the journey, and a good many coins, mainly Greek imperial, of varying interest were obtained.

Miss Lilian E. Tennant spent the winter in helping Miss Lamb with the catalogue of the terracottas in the Acropolis Museum. In the spring she visited the excavation at Phylakopi, where she assisted in work on the pottery finds. She attended Dr. Doerpfeld's lectures in Athens, and travelled on the mainland of Greece, among the islands and in Crete.

Mr. M. S. Thompson, B.A., of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, reached Athens *via* the Balkan States, travelling in company with Mr. A. J. B. Wace by land from Salonika to Volo by Verria, Serfije, and Ellassona, in order to examine certain topographical points. In the course of this journey he found several inscriptions, including a Latin decree referring to the boundaries of Doliche and Azzoros. In Athens, Mr. Thompson continued his researches on the early age in Thessaly, and later visited the excavations at Melos. He returned to Macedonia in June, and spent the summer working on topographical points and studying the Vlach language.

Mr. L. B. Tillard, B.A., of St. John's College, Cambridge, came out to make a special study of Greek fortifications. With this object he travelled widely in Greece, visiting Aetolia and the Peloponnese, and making a special study of the

fortresses in Attica. He was present at the excavation at Phylakopi, and rendered valuable assistance in the field.

Mr. A. J. Wace, Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, spent the winter in England, being engaged in collaboration with Mr. M. S. Thompson in writing a book on the results of their excavations on prehistoric sites in Thessaly. This book is now in the press and will shortly be published by the Cambridge University Press under the title of *Prehistoric Thessaly*. He left England in March 1911 in company with Mr. Thompson, and travelled by way of Berlin, Leipzig, Bucharest, Sofia, Philippopolis, and Constantinople to Salonika. In all these cities they devoted time to study in the museums, and during a visit to Philippopolis took the opportunity to visit Stenimachos, a Greek village in the neighbourhood, for the purpose of studying the Hellenic population of that district. From Salonika they undertook in connexion with the Macedonian Exploration Fund a journey in Southern Macedonia, visiting Berrhoea, Servia, Velventos, and Elassona. Near Velventos they found two unpublished inscriptions, a cemetery of pithos burials, and a prehistoric site, and on the road from Serfije to Elassona an important Latin inscription of Trajan defining the boundaries between Thessaly and Macedonia. From Elassona they explored the prehistoric sites at Tsaritsena and Magoula, and the Greek sites at Vouvala, Palaikastro, Sykea, Smolia, and Damasi, and copied several inscriptions. From Damasi they travelled by way of Tyrnavos and Volo to Athens.

At Athens, Mr. Wace took charge of the School for six weeks while the Director was in Melos and Mr. Hasluck in the Troad. Early in June he left with Mr. Thompson for Salonika to resume their exploration of Macedonia in connexion with the Macedonian Exploration Fund, visiting the following towns and sites:—Berrhoea, Doliani, Kozhani, Kaliani, Palaikastro, Shatishta, Shishani, Kastoria, Dranicevo, Chuka, Galishte, Hrupishta, Buboshte, Churhli, and Kastro. In addition they visited the following towns and villages to study Vlach ethnology:—Selia, Xirolivadi, Klissura, Neveska, and Grevena. They made Sârnârina their headquarters for the summer as it is conveniently situated in Pindus for visiting and studying the other Vlach villages in its neighbourhood. Of these, they visited Smiksi, Avdhela, Pirivoli, Labanitsa, Turia (Krania), Ameru (Milia), Amintšu (Metzovo), Baieasa (Vovusa), Laka (Laista), Paliohori, Dobrinovo, Lešnitsa, Palioseli, Păds, Armata, and Briaza. From all these and from Sârnârina itself they obtained a quantity of ethnological, anthropological, and philological material. They also examined reported ancient sites near Vodhensko and at Pulitses, near Amintšu (Metzovo). After some three months spent in this work they travelled by Grevena and Velemishti, where they had to spend five days' quarantine, to Kalabaka and Volo. Their proposed excavations near Salonika have had to be postponed for the present owing to the ravages of cholera in Macedonia and the recent outbreak of war between Italy and the Ottoman Empire.

The Committee congratulate Mr. Wace on this fruitful and interesting year's work. The School owes him a special debt of gratitude for his able administration of the hostel and library in May and June.

The Excavation at Phylakopi in Melos.—The excavation lasted from March 30th to May 30th, with a break for the Greek Easter. Miss Lorimer and Mr. Halliday were present throughout, Mr. Droop except for a week after Easter when he was at Sparta, Mr. Tillard until Easter, and Miss Lamb and Miss Tennant from Easter to the end of the work. Mr. Thompson also assisted during a visit of a week. The Director was present throughout.

The German Institute kindly lent their old and experienced foreman, Evangelis Kosmopoulos. Mr. W. J. Jones was present from May 15th to 29th as architect, and made the plan and drew some of the more important vases. A series of photographs was taken by Mr. R. Röhrer, the photographer of the German Institute, who had previously worked for the School at Sparta. As mender, Joannis Katsarakis came from Palaikastro. The work was on a moderate scale, the number of workmen varying from 20 to 50. The finds are to remain in Melos to form the nucleus of a local Museum.

The object of the excavation was naturally to supplement the results of the previous work, especially in the light of our greater knowledge of Crete and the mainland of Greece. The following brief account will shew that some measure of success was attained in this.

At the beginning of the excavation a few trial pits were made to explore the lower levels in parts of the site which had been previously dug, notably underneath the Palace and in the region to the north of it on the edge of the cliff, where the earliest remains had been found. The results of these operations were to give good preliminary ideas of the stratification, and to produce a number of vases, but no buildings of importance were found underneath the Palace, and the remains of the earliest settlement seemed to have been entirely exhausted at the first excavation.

After Easter the main part of the year's work was begun, which was to clear to the bed-rock a substantial area of the town which had been hardly touched before. This was the region in the south-east part of the town, just inside the eastern part of the great wall, and occupies squares, &c., &c., on the plan in *Phylakopi* (*J. H. S. Supp. Papers*, 4) H4, H5, J4, J5. The surface of this area was practically flat, and proved to have been terraced at some period since the desertion of the site. In consequence of this the houses were somewhat destroyed to the north, but excellently preserved to the south at the outer edge of the terrace. Here there was a metre-and-a-half of surface soil almost entirely without sherds, and below this walls to a further depth of six-and-a-half metres, before the rock was finally reached. This area was sufficient to give satisfactory results, and in several points Mr. Dawkins was able to carry further the observations of the previous excavators. The more important of the new results may be arranged as follows:—

1. A series of eight or nine burials of children. In several places found lying on the rock, or placed in holes made in its surfaces, were large jars containing the bones of young children. Two of the jars were painted, and all belong to the early

Geometric style, which goes with the latter part of the First City. There seems no doubt that the burials were actually in the houses, and from the numerous tombs at Phylakopi and the fact that all the burials were of children it seems that this intramural burial was confined to infants. One such burial was found in the original excavation (*Phylakopi*, p. 15). The jars were all broken, but the majority of them have been reconstructed and photographed. In two cases the mouth of the jar was covered by a basin. The jars themselves contained practically nothing except bones, but in association with the main group of these burials there were a number of painted jugs and cups which, though not inside the jars, were probably buried with them.

2. The grey pottery called Minyan, which had been found in the first excavation, was again found in some quantities, and its position in the series of pottery fixed with some certainty. The greater quantity of it occurred with vases contemporary with the Middle Minoan period of Crete, after which it became rarer. This conclusion will be of some importance for the chronology of prehistoric sites on the mainland, where this pottery has been found, notably at Orchomenos and in Thessaly.

3. In the lowest strata on the rock a small quantity of pottery allied to the "Urfirnis" ware of Tiryns and Boeotia has been found. The discovery of this again is of some chronological importance, and, like the Minyan, is suggestive for the early trade connexions of Melos.

4. Increased knowledge of Cretan fabrics makes it possible to be more precise as to the influence of Crete upon the later Melian vases, and two different native styles can be distinguished, one following Cretan Late Minoan I. and the other Cretan Late Minoan II vases. Several very fine Cretan Late Minoan II. vases were found of the style with decorations of marine animals, nautili, and seaweed, and several cups with Double Axes painted on them.

5. The Mycenaean ware of the latest period of Phylakopi appeared in some quantity, and two varieties could be distinguished, one apparently dating from the very end of the Mycenaean period. Together with this distinction of two styles of imported Mycenaean pottery the clear distinction which can now be made between imported Mycenaean and imported Cretan vases should be noted.

As the houses were dug, levels were taken continually, and thus every room yielded a series of pottery in layers from the top to the bottom. The sherds from each layer were washed and sorted, and notes taken of them, so that the observations as to the sequence of the styles and the dating of the Minyan pottery rest on as wide a basis as possible. This was only possible from the number of workers and the comparative slowness of the excavation.

The Library.—During the past session the Library has been increased by the acquisition of 90 new books, 37 parts of books in progress (exclusive of periodicals), and 70 pamphlets. Collignon's new work on the Parthenon with the

photographs of Boissonas has been subscribed for. A series of original sketches and drawings made by J. R. Stuart for his *Monuments of Lydia and Phrygia* has been presented to the School by Dr. Leaf. The thanks of the School are also due to the following for gifts of books :—

H.M. Government of India, the Trustees of the British Museum, the French Ministry of Public Instruction, the Archäologische Gesellschaft of Berlin, the Imperial Ottoman Museums, the University of Uppsala, the Byzantine Fund, the South West Society (California, U.S.A.).

The following authors have presented copies of their works :—Rev. J. Baikie, Dr. A. Buday, M. F. Courby, Mr. G. Dickins, Mr. Z. D. Ferriman, Dr. W. T. M. Forbes, Mr. E. S. Forster, Mr. J. K. Fotheringham, Prof. E. A. Gardner, Mr. J. Gennadius, Mr. F. W. Hasluck, Prof. G. Hempl, Dr. B. H. Hill, Mr. G. Jeffery, Prof. G. Mistriotes, Prof. J. L. Myres, M. J. C. Peristianes, Prof. W. Ridgeway, Dr. O. Rhousopoulos, Dr. K. Rhomaïos, Dr. J. Sundwall, Mr. R. Traquair, Dr. F. Versakes, Mr. A. M. Woodward, Dr. T. Zammit, Dr. Zavitzianos, Mdlle. A. Zolota.

Miscellaneous gifts of books have been received from :—Prof. R. C. Bosanquet, the Director, Mr. E. S. Forster, Mr. J. Gennadius, Mr. W. R. Halliday, Miss C. A. Hutton, Prof. S. P. Lambros, the Librarian, Prof. Allan Marquand, Miss M. Moore, Sir Edwin Pears, Mr. J. Penoyre, Mr. D. Petrococchino, Prof. J. Svoronos.

In pursuance of the policy of improving sets of periodicals, the School has obtained by purchase, on extremely moderate terms owing to the kind offices of Mr. H. Grueber, the first fifteen volumes of the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Series III., lacking one number (since obtained), and, by gift from Professor Allan Marquand, the whole of the first series of the *American Journal of Archaeology*. Special thanks are due to Professor Marquand for this generous presentation. To the purchase list have been added the Greek periodicals *Λαογραφία*, the *Folklore Review*, ably edited by Professor G. Politis, *Βυζαντίς*, the quarterly publication of the newly-founded *Βυζαντιολογικὴ Ἑταιρεία*, and *Ξενοφάνης*, the revived organ of the *Μικρασιατικὸς Σύλλογος*.

The greater part of the school slide collection (as distinct from the Hutton gift) has been indexed on cards. This index includes all the slides of Sparta and Crete, which constitute the most important series. The North Greek series awaits the collaboration of Messrs. Wace and Thompson.

It has been decided to improve the warming of the library by the substitution of larger stoves for those at present in use.

Open Meetings.—Two open meetings were held during the Session, and the following papers read :—

Friday, Dec. 2.—The Director : The Year's Work of the School.

Mr. F. W. Hasluck : Further Researches on Genoese Sculpture in Chios.

Friday, Jan. 14.—Mr. W. R. Halliday: The Burning of Damophon (Hom. *Hymn to Demeter*, l. 254).

The Director: The Development of Ivory-Carving at Sparta.

These meetings were duly communicated to the *Ἀθῆναι*, *Athenæum*, and *Morning Post*.

Publications.—A renewed expression of the School's gratitude is due to Miss C. A. Hutton for editing the *Annual* and also to the Advisory Committee, Sir Cecil Smith, Mr. D. G. Hogarth and Mr. M. N. Tod. The coloured frontispiece to this volume was the kind gift of Mr. Robert Mond.

Mr. Guy Dickens' *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, Vol. I., containing the pre-Persian marbles, is in the press. The illustrations for this have been skilfully drawn by Mr. Dudley Forsyth, and the publication has been undertaken by the Cambridge University Press, to which body the Committee desire to express their indebtedness. The second volume will comprise the later marbles and the terracottas. Miss Dorothy Lamb has already completed the catalogue of the terracottas, and it is hoped that Mr. Wace may undertake the remaining marbles this session.

Messrs. Wace and Thompson's book on Northern Greece, also to be published by the Cambridge University Press, is expected shortly. This work will give the results of the exploratory work of many sessions in an area hitherto almost unknown. It should throw much light on the relation of early North Greek civilization to the contemporary culture of the southern Mediterranean area.

Mr. A. M. Woodward has planned and executed a complete *Index to the Annual of the British School at Athens*, Vols. I-XVI. This task has been carried out with great care, and is, in the Committee's opinion, a model of what an index should be. While it will enhance the value of the *Annual* to all readers, it will be invaluable to students preparing the materials scattered through a number of volumes for definitive publication.

A short history of the School from its foundation to the present time, by Mr. Macmillan, and a bibliography, compiled by Mr. Penoyre, of the work of the students other than that which has appeared in the *Annual* should also be named.

Acknowledgments.—Acknowledgment has been made in the course of this Report to many kind helpers, and the Managing Committee take this opportunity of recording their thanks for other support accorded in various ways to the School to the following—to Sir Francis Elliot, K.C.M.G., H.M. Minister at Athens, for his never failing care for the interests of the School; to the Greek Authorities at the Ministry of Higher Education and to their local representatives for their ready help and constant support; to Dr. Stais, Director of the National Museum, and to Dr. Svoronos, Director of the Numismatic Museum at Athens, for many facilities and much help; to the Polytechnion Museum authorities for facilities given to members of the Byzantine Fund; to the First Dragoman of the Embassy and the Consular Authorities at Constantinople and Salonika, for their support of Messrs. Wace and Thompson in their journeys in Macedonia and of Mr. Hasluck in

Mt. Athos ; to Sir Edwin Pears for help and counsel in matters of importance to the School ; and to many friends for help and hospitality kindly accorded to members of the School travelling in Crete, Thessaly, Macedonia, Asia Minor, and elsewhere.

Finance.—The Revenue Account for the year shows a debit balance of £247 2s. 1d. as compared with a balance of £8 8s. 3d. for the preceding year. The serious deficit thus shown has been caused chiefly by increased expenditure on excavations, whilst no special appeal for funds to carry out the work has been made for some years. Additional expenditure has also been incurred in respect of the Index to the *Annual* and the Acropolis Catalogue. It is satisfactory to note that the publication of the *Annual* has cost considerably less, and the receipts therefrom have been slightly greater. The high esteem in which the *Annual* is held must be counted one of the most satisfactory features of the School's work. It is much to be regretted that the total amount of Annual Subscriptions again shows a falling off. The Committee earnestly hope that supporters of the School will do their utmost to make its work known. They cannot but believe that the necessary support would be forthcoming if its past record of good work and present opportunities for the student were more generally realised.

In moving the adoption of the report DR. RYLE said that the School had deservedly retained its hold on the confidence of British scholars, and had won the full approbation of the older and younger Universities. Students of Hellenic art and architecture, social life, anthropology, and religion had all been able to derive from its researches valuable supplies of knowledge, illustration, and stimulus. The whole subject of Hellenic archaeology had been lifted into a different atmosphere in our country in consequence of the studies of the School. The work of the School offered an example of the strictly inductive methods of modern patient scientific study, as much needed in the domain of literary inquiry or the study of ancient civilisation as in any quest of physical science. Grote assumed that the eighth century was to be regarded as the starting-point of Greek history and art, and the fact that we were now pointed back to the third or fourth millennium was due to the work that had been done by archaeological study and research. The significance of the evidence furnished by fragments of pottery and rusty pieces of metal had only perhaps been fully recognised in the last thirty years. The School had from the first contributed valuable literary material for the promotion of Hellenic studies wherever the English language was read and Greek was not neglected.

The adoption of the Report was seconded by SIR CLIFFORD ALLBUTT, and having been put to the Meeting was carried unanimously.

The Director (MR. R. M. DAWKINS) gave an illustrated account of the excavations at Phylakopi during the past Session.

PROFESSOR WOODWARD moved the following resolution which was seconded by the REV. A. G. BATHER and carried unanimously :—

That PROFESSOR R. C. BOSANQUET, PROFESSOR J. L. MYRES, and MR. THEODORE FYFE be re-elected.

That MR. L. WHIBLEY be elected on the Committee.

That MR. V. W. YORKE be re-elected Treasurer.

That MR. PENOYRE be re-elected Secretary. A vote of thanks to the AUDITORS moved by MR. V. W. YORKE and seconded by MR. PENOYRE was carried unanimously.

A vote of thanks to DR. H. E. RYLE for presiding, moved by MR. MACMILLAN, was carried by acclamation.

In the evening a largely attended ANNIVERSARY DINNER was held at the Whitehall Rooms, S.W. MR. GEORGE MACMILLAN, Chairman of the Committee, presided, being supported by Viscount Morley of Blackburn, the Dean of Westminster, M. Alexander Vouros, Secretary to the Greek Legation, Dr. and Mrs. Walter Leaf, Sir Laurence Guillemard, Lady Harcourt-Smith, Mrs. George Macmillan, Miss Penrose, Miss Jane Harrison, Professor and Mrs. Ernest Gardner, Professor and Mrs. Percy Gardner, Sir Arthur Evans, Sir F. Pollock, Sir Clifford Allbutt, Professor Charles Waldstein, Mr. D. G. Hogarth, Dr. F. G. Kenyon, Professor C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, Mr. R. Weir Schultz, Mr. and Mrs. Theodore Fyfe, Professor R. C. and the Misses Bosanquet, Mr. Ian Macalister, Mr. V. W. Yorke, Mr. J. ff. Baker-Penoyre, Mr. R. M. Dawkins, Mr. W. Loring, and many others.

The toasts of "H.M. King George V." (patron of the School) and "H.M. the Queen and the Royal Family" having been proposed by the Chairman, and honoured,

The Chairman, in proposing the next toast, "H.M. the King of the Hellenes," said that His Majesty had always shown himself a good friend of the School, and through his Minister, M. J. Gennadius, he had

telegraphed his congratulations and good wishes for the prosperity of the School.

The toast having been honoured, Mr. D. G. Hogarth proposed 'The Greek Nation and the Greek Archaeological Society.' He said that the Government of Greece showed a real desire to treat the great architectural and archaeological treasures of Greece as a concern, not only of Greece, but of the whole civilised world. It was not too much to say that the antiquities, &c., of Greece were the primary concern of the nation, but they had shown great liberality in distributing some of these treasures to other nations.

M. Gennadius, who was to have responded to the toast, had been called to Paris by his Sovereign, but he had sent a letter to be read to the meeting, and this was read by the Chairman. In the course of the letter M. Gennadius said he was glad to think that the British School had amply justified their best hopes. It had added to Athens, the centre of archaeological research, another institution which had already given brilliant results, and which promised even a richer harvest in the future. He referred to the willing aid the Hellenic Government had always given the School, and the encouraging manner in which they had facilitated work. Greece would never act as a dog in the manger in the prosecution of original research.

The Chairman then proposed the toast of the evening, 'The British School at Athens.' After reading a list of some important subscribers who had been unable to attend the gathering and paying a special tribute to Sir Edwin Egerton's great services to the School, Mr. Macmillan proceeded to a commemoration of deceased benefactors. The first place was due to King Edward VII., who as Prince of Wales had twice presided over meetings in support of the School, and had remained its Patron and warm friend. Next came Sir Richard Jebb, who might justly be called the founder of the School inasmuch as he was the first to formulate a definite scheme, which was the initial step towards the realisation of the idea. He had remained until his death an active member of the Committee. To their first Director, Mr. Penrose, their warm gratitude was due. It was a great thing for the School to have from the outset the help and guidance of a man whose name was already known throughout the Continent, as well as in his own country, as the leading authority on one important branch of Greek study—Athenian Architecture. It required some courage on the part of a man of Mr. Penrose's age to go out to Athens and start a

new institution, but with the help of devoted students he succeeded in his undertaking and to the end of his long life he retained an active interest in the School. His great services had been happily commemorated by the erection of the Penrose Library, now attached to the Students' Hostel. Sir Charles Newton again had been an active supporter of the School and when a fund was raised in recognition of his invaluable services to classical archaeology, he placed the balance of £400 at the disposal of the School Committee. The late Lord Carnarvon twice presided at Annual Meetings of Subscribers, and was always ready with his wise counsel. Lord Leighton was a member of the original Committee and spoke on behalf of the School at the meetings at Marlborough House and St. James' Palace.

Mr. Macmillan congratulated the School on the distinguished gathering which had met to celebrate this auspicious occasion. With few exceptions all the members of the original Committee were present, including Dr. Leaf and Professor Percy Gardner, who had never failed the School at any emergency, and all the surviving Directors, except Sir Cecil Smith, who was out of England. Among other staunch friends of the School who were present he might mention Sir Clifford Allbutt, Sir Arthur Evans, Professor Waldstein and Miss Harrison. There was also a splendid muster of old students including such old members of the School as Professor Myres, Mr. Loring, Mr. Schultz, and Mr. Milne, besides representatives of almost all the later periods.

It was not necessary to refer even briefly to the history of the School when the written record was in their hands in which he had tried to trace its progress from its foundation, through the early years of struggle, to its present prosperity. The narrative referred to the successive excavations which had formed so important a part of the work of the School; to the individual work of the students as shown not only in connection with these excavations, but also in the remarkable bibliography of their contributions to archaeological research, prepared by two former students, Mr. Baker-Penoyre (now Secretary) and Miss Hutton; to the gradual growth of the School Library and to the building of the Students' hostel. The School had been equally fortunate in its governing body and in its active members, both directors and students. The relations between them had always been of the most friendly character. As to the students, it was a most satisfactory thing to find so many of them occupying important posts after their stay in Athens. One of them, Mr. Marshall, was Director of

Archaeology in India, and he was glad to say he was not to be removed, in spite of the recommendation of the Indian Government that the post was superfluous.

The Chairman then referred briefly to finance, showing that since 1895, when the Government Grant and the results of the Meeting at St. James' Palace had enormously improved the position of the School, the Committee had been largely relieved of anxiety on that score, but pointing out that owing to the death or withdrawal of important subscribers the accounts of the present year showed a deficit, so that it was to be hoped that the enthusiasm engendered by the present celebration might bring a substantial addition to the resources of the School.

Mr. Macmillan then took one by one the objects of the School, as defined in the Rules and Regulations, and claimed that all had been adequately fulfilled.

The first object was to promote the study of Greek Archaeology in all its branches. Under this head it was sufficient to name the excavations carried out successively in Cyprus, Melos, Crete, and Sparta, and to the numerous contributions made by members of the School to the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* and to the *School Annual*.

Secondly, the School was to be also, in the most comprehensive sense, a School of Classical Studies. Here, too, we could show a good record in the help given to scholars who were not specialists in archaeology but whose classical teaching had been vitalised by contact with Greek soil. Besides those students who had passed on into the teaching profession, college tutors and schoolmasters had from time to time availed themselves of the advantages offered by the School.

Thirdly, the School was to be a centre at which information could be obtained and books consulted by British travellers in Greece. It was well known that this object had always been kept steadily in view by successive Directors, and many hundreds of travellers had testified their gratitude for information and advice freely placed at their disposal.

The last object, the formation of a Library and the collection of photographs, maps, etc., had also been fully attained, and thanks to the gifts of generous donors and to the yearly purchases made by the Committee, the Library would compare favourably with that of any similar institution.

In conclusion Mr. Macmillan expressed the hope that when the

Jubilee of the School came to be celebrated, those concerned in it might be able to look back upon the intervening period with no less satisfaction than those might justly feel who had watched over the fortunes of the School during its infancy, and had helped to the best of their power to place it in its present assured position.

Professor Ernest Gardner as the Senior surviving Director responded and referred to the work of the students of the School, and to the comradeship existing between the students, not only of the British School, but also of the French, German, and American Schools. These different Schools supplied the place of a great international University at Athens. Students felt, moreover, that the life spent in Athens and at the School was a dominant influence in the whole of their subsequent careers. Mr. R. M. Dawkins, the present Director, also briefly replied.

Dr. Walter Leaf then proposed 'The Guests,' making special mention of Lord Morley and the Dean of Westminster, and finally coupling the toast with the name of Sir Laurence Guillemard, whose services to the School at a critical moment in its history were referred to in felicitous terms. After Sir Laurence had replied, Viscount Morley of Blackburn proposed the last toast, 'The Chairman.' He said he could not but think how things had changed since he was a boy at Oxford, when the great event was the publication, one after another, of the new volumes of Grote's 'History,' and there was no one who had the honour, as he had, of knowing Grote but recognised that his ideas were a great contribution to the thought and intellect of those days. The School at Athens existed to go far behind all that, to bring the light of archaeological knowledge to bear on far earlier generations. But he confessed he thought it was a shame that we had not sooner taken in hand the kind of work the School was engaged in, and he felt the same thing in regard to Oriental studies. It was to him inconceivable how we, with all our Oriental possessions and institutions, had not in this country—he had done his best to set on foot a movement for remedying that—an independent institution for Oriental studies. He was amazed that, with our enormous wealth and traditions, we were so grudging in contributing to objects of this kind.

A brief reply from the Chairman concluded an evening which must ever be memorable in the history of the School.

1910-1911.

3RD OCTOBER, 1910, TO 2ND OCTOBER, 1911.

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE ON CAPITAL ACCOUNT.

3RD OCTOBER, 1910, TO 2ND OCTOBER, 1911.

Donations, as per list	£	s.	d.	Library	£	s.	d.
	6	1	0		102	2	7
Balance being excess of Expenditure over Receipts	96	1	7				
	£102	2	7		£102	2	7

DONATIONS—1910-1911.

	£	s.	d.
Pease Wilson, Esq.	1	1	0
Egerton, Sir E. H.	5	0	0
	<u>£6</u>	1	0

SPECIAL DONATIONS.

For Excavations in Laconia.

Eumorfopoulos, N.	2	0	0
Shove, Miss E.	1	1	0
	<u>£3</u>	1	0

For Excavations in Thessaly.

Abercromby, Hon. J.	£20	0	0
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For Exploration in Lycia.

Queen's College, Oxford	£100	0	0
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ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS—1910-1911.

	£	s.	d.
The University of Oxford	100	0	0
The University of Cambridge	100	0	0
The Hellenic Society	100	0	0
The Society of Antiquaries	5	5	0
The Leeds Library	1	0	0
Brasenose College, Oxford	5	0	0
Caius College, Cambridge	10	0	0
Christ Church, Oxford	20	0	0
Corpus Christi College, Oxford	5	0	0
King's College, Cambridge	10	0	0
Magdalen College, Oxford	20	0	0
McGill University, Montreal	5	5	0
St. John's College Library	1	0	0
L'Association de Lectures Philologiques, Lausanne	1	1	0
Victoria University of Manchester	6	1	0
Westminster School Library	1	1	0

£390 13 0

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Brought forward	390	13	0	Brought forward	446	2	0
Abercromby, Hon. J.	2	2	0	Carrington, J. B.	1	1	0
Acland, Henry Dyke	1	1	0	Caspari, M.	1	1	0
Allbutt, Prof Sir T.	1	1	0	Caton, R.	1	1	0
Allen, Miss E. M.	1	0	0	Chawner, W.	2	2	0
Alma Tadema, Sir L.	2	2	0	Christie, Miss A.	1	1	0
Anderson, James	1	1	0	Clark, C. R.	1	0	0
Anson, Sir W. R.	10	0	0	Clarke-Thornhill, T. B.	1	0	0
Ashby, Thomas	1	1	0	Clausen, A. C.	2	2	0
Austen Leigh, E. C.	1	1	0	Clissold, H.	1	0	0
Bailey, C.	1	1	0	Colchester, Lord	5	0	0
Bailey, J. C.	5	0	0	Cole, A. C.	2	2	0
Barlow, Sir T.	1	1	0	Compton, Rev. W. C.	1	1	0
Barrington, Mrs. Russell	1	1	0	Cooke, R.	1	1	0
Benecke, P. V. M.	2	2	0	Corbett, Sir V.	1	0	0
Bevan, E. R.	1	0	0	Crowfoot, J. W.	2	2	0
Blackburn, Mrs.	1	1	0	Cruddas, Miss	2	2	0
Blomfield, R.	2	2	0	Davidson, H. O. D.	1	1	0
Bodington, Dr. N.	1	0	0	Dickins, Mrs. A. L.	1	1	0
Bosanquet, Prof. R. C.	1	1	0	Donaldson, Rev. S. A.	1	1	0
Boyle, Miss F.	1	0	0	Douglas-Pennant, Hon. A.	1	1	0
Briggs, Miss E. M.	1	1	0	Droop, J. P.	1	1	0
Brinton, H.	1	1	0	Dundas, R. H.	1	0	0
Bristol, Bishop of	1	1	0	Earl, A. G.	1	1	0
Brooke, Rev. Stopford	1	1	0	Eccles, Mrs.	1	1	0
Brooks, E. W.	1	0	0	Elliot, Sir F. E. H.	1	0	0
Bulwer, Miss D. E.	1	1	0	Empedocles, G.	1	1	0
Burnett, J. J.	1	1	0	Eumorfopoulos, G.	1	1	0
Burnham, Lord	5	0	0	Eumorfopoulos, N.	2	0	0
Burrows, Prof. R. M.	1	1	0	Evans, A. J.	10	0	0
Bury, Prof. J. B.	1	1	0	Evans, F. Gwynne	1	1	0
Carlisle, Miss	1	1	0	Farside, Mrs.	1	1	0
Carr, Rev. A.	1	1	0	Fletcher, H. M.	1	1	0
Carr, H. Wildon	1	1	0	Forbes, W. H.	1	1	0
Carried forward	£446	2	0	Carried forward	£499	11	0

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS—1910-1911 (*continued*).

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Brought forward	499	11	0	Brought forward	633	0	5
Forster, E. S.	1	0	0	Lynch, H. F.	2	2	0
Fort, J. A.	1	0	0	Lyttelton, Canon, Hon. and			
Fotheringham, J. K.	1	1	0	Rev. E.	1	1	0
Fowler, W. W.	1	1	0	Macan, R. W.	1	1	0
Freshfield, D. W.	10	0	0	MacLehose, James J.	1	1	0
Frisch, E. S.	1	0	0	Macmillan, G. A.	50	0	0
Fry, Sir E.	1	1	0	Marindin, G. E.	1	1	0
Furieux, L. R.	1	0	0	Marshall, Miss A. M. C.	1	1	0
Gardiner, E. Norman	1	0	0	Marshall, F. H.	1	1	0
Gardner, Prof. Percy	2	2	0	Matthews, Mrs.	1	1	0
Giveen, R. L.	1	1	0	Mayor, R. J. G.	1	1	0
Goldsmith, Dr.	1	1	0	Miller, Rev. A.	1	1	0
Gooch, G. P.	1	1	0	Miller, W.	2	2	0
Goodwin, J. A.	1	1	0	Milne, J. G.	1	1	0
Graham, E.	1	1	0	Minturn, Miss E. T.	1	1	0
Grenfell, B. P.	1	1	0	Mitchell, Mrs. E. H.	2	2	0
Griffith, F. Ll.	1	1	0	Morshead, E. D. A.	1	0	0
Hall, H. R.	1	1	0	Moss, Rev. Preb. H. W.	1	1	0
Halliday, Mrs. C. H.	1	1	0	Myers, E.	1	1	0
Handcock, W.	1	1	0	Mylne, Mrs.	2	2	0
Hasluck, P. P.	1	1	0	Newman, W. L.	2	2	0
Hawes, Miss	1	1	0	Nightingale, Mrs. H. Shore	1	1	0
Hay, C. A.	5	5	0	Palli, Miss F. L.	1	1	0
Heberden, C. B.	2	2	0	Pearse, Rev. T. N. Hart-			
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Hodgkin, J. E.	1	1	0	Pease, Mrs. J. W.	5	5	0
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Hodgkin, Thomas	10	0	0	Penrose, Miss	1	1	0
Hogarth, D. G.	1	1	0	Perry, W. C.	1	1	0
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Carried forward £633 0 5

Carried forward £753 10 5

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS—1910-1911 (*continued*).

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Brought forward .	753	10	5	Carried forward	791	3	5
Seaman, Owen	1	1	0	Vince, J. H.	1	0	0
Searle, G. von U.	1	1	0	Wace, Mrs.	2	2	0
Seebohm, Hugh	1	1	0	Waldstein, Prof. C.	1	1	0
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Thornely, Miss A. M. M.	1	1	0	Wernher, Sir Julius	25	0	0
Tod, M. N.	1	0	0	Whibley, Leonard	1	0	0
Tod, T. N.	1	1	0	Wilson, R. D.	1	1	0
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Tuke, Miss	1	1	0	Wyndham, Hon. Miss	1	1	0
Vaughan, E. L.	1	0	0	Wright, C. T. H.	1	1	0
Verrall, Dr.	1	1	0	Yorke, V. W.	5	0	0
Carried forward	£791	3	5	Total	£840	17	5

	£	s.	d.
Received during the year	847	1	5
Paid in advance last year	3	3	0
Less Paid in advance at date	£	s.	d.
" on account of 1909-10 as below	3	3	0
	6	4	0
	9	7	0
	£840	17	5

Received during the year Subscriptions for 1909-10 :—

	£	s.	d.
Eccles, Mrs.	1	1	0
Lindley, Miss J.	1	1	0
Loewy, Prof. Dr. E.	1	0	0
Pyddoke, Miss M.	1	1	0
Smith, A. H.	1	1	0
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Total	£6	4	0

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 Simpson, W. W., Esq., Winkley, Whalley.
 Sloane, Miss E. J., 13, Welford Road, Leicester.
 Smith, A. H., Esq., British Museum, W.C.
 Smith, Sir Cecil H., LL.D., 62, Rutland Gate, S.W.
 Smith-Pearse, Rev. T. N., The College, Epsom.
 Stewart, Mrs. H. F., The Malting House, Cambridge.
 Strangeways, L. R., Esq., Mapperley Lodge, 540, Woodboro' Road, Nottingham.
 Sullivan, John, Esq.,
- Tancock, The Rev. C. C., D.D., Little Casterton Rectory, Stamford, Rutland.
 Thompson, Sir E. M., G.C.B., Mayfield, Sussex.
 Thompson, F. E., Esq., 16, Primrose Hill Road, N.W.
 Thompson, H. Y., Esq., 19, Portman Square, W.
 Tod, Mrs. Hedwig, 40, Inverleith Place, Edinburgh.
 Tod, M. N., Esq., Oriel College, Oxford.
 Tod, T. N. Esq., Carr Hill, Shawclough, Rochdale.
 Townshend, Brian, Esq., 13, Plantation Avenue, Oxford.
 Tozer, The Rev. H. F., 18, Norham Gardens, Oxford.
 Tuckett, F. F., Esq., Frenchay, Bristol.
 Tuke, Miss Margaret, Bedford Coll., York Place, Baker Street, W.
- Vaughan, H., Esq.
 Vaughan, E. L., Esq., Eton College.
 Vince, J. H. Esq., Bradfield College, Berkshire.
- Wace, Mrs., Leslie Lodge, Hall Place, St. Albans.
 Wagner, H., Esq., 13, Half Moon Street, W.
 Waldstein, Sir Charles, Litt.D., Newton Hall, nr. Cambridge.
 Wandsworth, The Right Hon. Lord, 10, Great Stanhope Street, W.
 Wantage, The Lady, 2, Carlton Gardens, S.W.
 Ward, Dr. A. W., Master of Peterhouse College, Cambridge.
 Warren, T. H., Esq., President of Magdalen College, Oxford.
 Waterhouse, Edwin, Esq., Feldemore, near Dorking.

Weber, Sir H., M.D., 10, Grosvenor Street, W.
Webster, E. W., Esq., Wadham College, Oxford.
Wells, J., Esq., Wadham College, Oxford.
Welsh, Miss Silvia M., Werneck-Strasse,
22 11, Munich, Bavaria.
West, H. H., Esq., Shide Villa, Newport,
I.o.W.
Whibley, Leonard, Esq., Pembroke College,
Cambridge.
Williams, W. C. A., Esq., Garden House, Corn-
wall Gardens, S.W.
Wilson, R. D., Esq., 38, Upper Brook Street,
W.
Wimborne, The Right Hon. Lord, 22, Arlington
Street, S.W.

Withers, J. J., Esq., Howard House, 4, Arundel
Street, Strand, W.C.
Woodhouse, Prof. W. J., The University, Sydney,
N.S.W.
Woodward, A. M., Esq., Crooksbury Hurst,
Farnham, Surrey.
Wright, Dr. Hagberg, London Library, St.
James's Square, W.
Wright, C. T. H., Esq.,
Wyndham, Hon. Margaret, 12, Great Stanhope
Street, W.
Yorke, V. W., Esq., 254 B, Gray's Inn Road,
W.C.
Yule, Miss A., Tarradale House, Ross-shire.

DIRECTORS OF THE SCHOOL.

1886—1911.

F. C. PENROSE, M.A., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., 1886—1887.

ERNEST A. GARDNER, M.A., 1887—1895.

CECIL H. SMITH, LL.D., 1895—1897.

DAVID G. HOGARTH, M.A., 1897—1900.

R. CARR BOSANQUET, M.A., 1900—1906.

R. McG. DAWKINS, M.A., 1906—

HONORARY STUDENTS OF THE SCHOOL.

1886—1911.

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|--|--|
| Prof. J. B. Bury,
LL.D., Litt.D., D.Litt. | Trinity College, Cambridge. Elected 1805. |
| Sir Arthur J. Evans,
LL.D., D.Litt., F.R.S. | Late Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Elected 1895. |
| Prof. J. Linton Myres,
M.A. | A former Student of the School. Elected 1896. |
| Prof. Ernest Gardner,
M.A. | Formerly Director of the School. Elected 1897. |
| Prof. A. van Millingen,
M.A., D.D. | Professor of History at Robert College, Constantinople. Elected 1904. |
| W. H. Forbes, M.A. | Late Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. Elected 1906. |
| Prof. W. J. Woodhouse. | Professor in the University of Sydney. Formerly Student of the School. Elected 1908. |
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STUDENTS OF THE SCHOOL.¹

1886-1911.

- Ernest A. Gardner. M.A. Formerly Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, and Craven University Student. Yates Professor of Archaeology in the University of London. Admitted 1886-87. Director of the School, 1887-1895. Hon. Student of the School.
- David G. Hogarth. M.A. Fellow and formerly Tutor of Magdalen College, Oxford, and first Craven Fellow. Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum. Director of the School 1897-1900. Admitted 1886-87. Re-admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1887-88.
- Rupert C. Clarke. M.A. Exeter College, Oxford. Rector of Ellesborough, Bucks, and Rural Dean of Wendover. Admitted 1886-87.
- F. H. H. Guillemard. M.A., M.D., F.L.S., etc. Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. First University Reader in Geography. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1887-88.
- Montague R. James. Litt.D. Provost and late Tutor of King's College, Cambridge. Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1887-88, with grant of £100 from the University.
- R. Elsey Smith. F.R.I.B.A. Professor of Architecture and Construction, King's College, London. Appointed to Studentship by Royal Institute of British Architects, 1887-88.
- Robert Weir Schultz. Admitted as Gold Medallist and Travelling Student in Architecture of the Royal Academy of Arts, 1887-88. Re-admitted 1888-89, 1889-90.
- Sidney H. Barnsley. Admitted as Student of the Royal Academy, 1887-88. Re-admitted 1889-90, 1890-91.
- J. A. R. Munro. M.A. Fellow and Lecturer of Lincoln College, Oxford. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1888-89. Re-admitted (for same purpose) 1889-90.
- H. Arnold Tubbs. M.A. Pembroke College, Oxford. Craven University Fellow. Professor of Classics at University College, Auckland, N.Z. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1888-89. Re-admitted (for same purpose) 1889-90.
- J. G. Frazer. M.A. Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1889-90, with grant of £100 from the University of Cambridge to collect material for commentary on Pausanias.²
- William Loring. M.A. Warden of Goldsmiths' College, New Cross. Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Secretary of the School, 1897-1903. Appointed to Cambridge Studentship, 1889-90. Re-admitted as Craven University Student, 1890-91, 1891-92, and 1892-93.

¹ * Before a name signifies "deceased."² This grant was afterwards returned to the University.

- W. J. Woodhouse. M.A. Queen's College, Oxford. Professor of Greek in the University of Sydney, N.S.W. Formerly Lecturer in Ancient History and Political Philosophy at the University of St. Andrews. Appointed to Oxford Studentship, 1889—90. Re-admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1891—92 and 1892—93.
- G. C. Richards. M.A. Late Fellow of Hertford College. Fellow and Tutor of Oriel College, Oxford. Formerly Professor of Greek at University College, Cardiff. Admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1889—90. Re-admitted 1890—91.
- O. H. Parry. M.A. Magdalen College, Oxford. Vicar of All Hallows, East India Dock. Formerly Archbishop's Missioner to the Nestorian Christians. Admitted 1889—90.
- J. F. R. Stainer. M.A., B.C.L. Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1889—90.
- R. A. H. Bickford-Smith. M.A., F.S.A. Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1889—90.
- A. G. Bather. M.A. Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Assistant Master at Winchester College. Admitted 1889—90. Re-admitted 1891—92, on appointment to the Cambridge Studentship; 1892—93 as Prendergast Greek Student; and again, 1893—94, as Cambridge Student.
- E. E. Sikes. M.A. Fellow and Tutor of St. John's College, Cambridge. Appointed to Cambridge Studentship, 1890—91.
- J. G. Milne. M.A. Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Examiner in the Board of Education. Appointed to Oxford Studentship, 1890—91.
- H. Stuart Jones. M.A. Fellow and formerly Tutor of Trinity College, Oxford. Formerly Director of the British School at Rome. Admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1890—91. Re-admitted 1892—93.
- Miss Eugénie Sellers (Mrs. S. Arthur Strong). Girton College, Cambridge. Assistant Director of the British School at Rome. Formerly Keeper of the Duke of Devonshire's Collections. Admitted 1890—91.
- F. Brayne Baker. M.A. Sometime Scholar of Christ's College, Cambridge. Assistant Master at Malvern College. Admitted 1891—92.
- C. C. Inge. M.A. Magdalen College, Oxford. Vicar of Holmwood, Surrey. Appointed 1891—92 to the Oxford Studentship.
- E. F. Benson, M.A. King's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1891—92, with grant of £100 from the Worts Fund at Cambridge; 1892—93 on appointment to the Cambridge Studentship; 1893—94 as Craven Student; and 1894—95 as Prendergast Student.
- J. G. Piddington. B.A. (J. G. Smith) Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1891—92. Re-admitted 1895—96.
- V. W. Yorke. M.A. Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1892—93. Re-admitted 1893—94.
- J. L. Myres. M.A. Wykeham Professor of Ancient History in the University of Oxford. Formerly Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. Student and Tutor of Christ Church. University Lecturer in Classical Archaeology. Gladstone Professor of Greek in the University of Liverpool. Admitted 1892—93 as Craven Fellow. Re-admitted 1893—94 and 1894—95. Hon. Student of the School.

- R. J. G. Mayor. M.A. Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Assistant Secretary in the Board of Education. Admitted 1892-93.
- R. C. Bosanquet. M.A. Trinity College, Cambridge. Professor of Archaeology in the University of Liverpool. Assistant Director of the School, 1899-1900. Director 1900-1906. Admitted 1892-93. Re-admitted as Craven University Student 1894-95. Re-admitted as Craven Student 1895-96 and 1896-97.
- J. M. Cheetham, M.A. Christ Church, Oxford. Admitted on appointment to the Oxford Studentship. 1892-93.
- E. R. Bevan. M.A. New College, Oxford. Admitted 1893-94.
- A. F. Findlay. M.A. Sent out as holder of Browne-Downie Fellowship by the United Presbyterian Church, Divinity Hall, Edinburgh. Admitted 1894-95.
- J. G. Duncan. M.A., B.D. Sent out from Aberdeen by the Church of Scotland. Admitted 1894-95.
- J. E. Brooks. M.A. St. Peter's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1894-95. Re-admitted as Associate 1896-97.
- *H. Awdry. M.A. New College, Oxford. Assistant Master at Wellington College. Admitted 1894-95.
- Duncan Mackenzie. M.A. (Edin.), Ph.D. (Vienna) Universities of Edinburgh and Vienna. Director of the Palestine Exploration Fund. Carnegie Fellow in History at the University of Edinburgh. Admitted 1895-6. Re-admitted 1896-97, 1897-98 and 1898-99.
- Archibald Paterson. University of Edinburgh. Admitted 1895-96.
- C. R. Rowland Clark. Student of the Royal Academy. Appointed 1895-96, and re-appointed 1896-97, by the Managing Committee to an Architectural Studentship.
- C. C. Edgar. B.A. Oriel College, Oxford. Inspector of Antiquities for Lower Egypt. Admitted 1895-96, and re-admitted 1896-97 (as Craven University Fellow), 1897-98 and 1898-99.
- F. R. Earp. M.A. Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1896-97.
- *F. A. C. Morrison. M.A. Jesus College, Cambridge. Admitted (as Prendergast Greek Student) 1896-97.
- H. H. West. M.A. Formerly of Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1896-97.
- Miss C. A. Hutton. Girton College, Cambridge. Admitted 1896-97.
- Pieter Rodeck. Architect, Cairo. Admitted 1896-97 as Travelling Student and Gold Medallist of the Royal Academy.
- J. G. C. Anderson. M.A. Formerly Fellow of Lincoln College. Student, Tutor, and sometime Senior Censor of Christ Church, Oxford. Admitted (as Craven University Fellow) 1896-97.
- J. W. Crowfoot. M.A. Brasenose College, Oxford. Inspector in the Ministry of Education, Cairo. Formerly Assistant Director of Education and Acting Curator of Antiquities, Sudan Government. Lecturer in Classics, Mason College and University, Birmingham. Admitted, on appointment to the Oxford Studentship, 1896-97. Re-admitted 1897-98.
- W. W. Reid. Universities of Aberdeen and Edinburgh. Admitted, as holder of Blackie Travelling Scholarship, 1896-97.

- A. E. Henderson. F.S.A. Owen Jones Student of Royal Institute of British Architects, 1897—98. Admitted 1897—98. Re-admitted 1898—99, 1901—02, and 1902—03.
- W. A. Curtis. Heriot Scholar of Edinburgh University. Admitted 1897—98.
- A. J. Spilsbury. M.A. Queen's College, Oxford. Senior Classical Master, City of London School. Admitted 1897—98, on appointment to the Oxford Studentship.
- E. B. Hoare. Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1897—98, as Architectural Student.
- J. C. Lawson. M.A. Fellow and Lecturer of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Admitted as Craven University Student, 1898—99. Re-admitted 1899—1900.
- C. D. Edmonds. M.A. Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Assistant Master at Royal Naval College, Osborne. Formerly at Aldenham School. Admitted as Prendergast Student, 1898—99.
- J. H. Marshall. C.I.E., M.A., F.S.A. Scholar of King's College, Cambridge. Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India. Admitted 1898—99. Re-admitted as Prendergast Student, 1900—01, Craven Student, 1901—2.
- *Clement Gutch. M.A. King's College, Cambridge. Lecturer at St. John's College, Cambridge. Admitted, 1898—99, on appointment to the Cambridge Studentship.
- F. B. Welch. M.A. Magdalen College, Oxford. Second Master at Pocklington School. Admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1898—99. Re-admitted 1899—1900.
- T. D. Atkinson. F.R.I.B.A. Surveyor to the Dean and Chapter of Ely. Admitted as Architectural Student, 1898—99.
- J. K. Fotheringham. M.A., D.Litt. Merton and Magdalen Colleges, Oxford. Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. Lecturer in Ancient History at King's College, London. Examiner in the University of London; Brassey Research Student. Admitted on appointment to Oxford Studentship, 1898—99.
- J. H. Hopkinson. M.A. University College, Oxford. Warden of Hulme Hall and Lecturer in Classical Archaeology, University of Manchester. Formerly Lecturer in Greek, University of Birmingham. Admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1899—1900 and 1900—01.
- S. C. Kaines-Smith. Magdalene College, Cambridge. Admitted 1899—1900, on appointment to Cambridge Studentship.
- Miss O. C. Köhler (Mrs. Charles Smith). Girton College, Cambridge. Admitted 1899—1900.
- D. Theodore Fyfe. F.R.I.B.A. Architectural Association Travelling Student, 1899. Admitted 1899—1900, on appointment to Architectural Studentship.
- K. T. Frost. M.A., F.R.G.S. Brasenose College, Oxford. Lecturer at the Queen's University, Belfast. Formerly in Ministry of Public Instruction, Egypt. Lecturer in Classics at Isleworth. Officer of the Egyptian Exploration Fund, 1904—05. Admitted on appointment to the Oxford Studentship, 1900—01.
- R. D. Wells. M.A., A.R.I.B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted on appointment to the Architectural Studentship, 1900—01.

- J. ff. Baker-Penoyre. M.A. Keble College, Oxford. Secretary and Librarian to the Society for Promoting Hellenic Studies. Secretary to the British Schools in Athens and Rome. Admitted 1900-01. Re-admitted 1906-7, 1907-8.
- Marcus N. Tod. M.A. Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, and University Lecturer in Greek Epigraphy. Craven University Fellow. Assistant-Director of the School 1902-1904. Admitted on appointment to "Senior Studentship," 1901-02.
- F. W. Hasluck. M.A. Sometime Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Assistant Director of the School from 1906. Admitted on appointment to Cambridge Studentship, 1901-02. Re-admitted 1902-03, 1904-05, 1905-06, 1906-07, 1907-8, 1908-9, 1909-10, 1910-11.
- C. Heaton Conyn. A.R.I.B.A., M.R.San.I. Admitted on appointment to the Architectural Studentship, 1901-02. Re-admitted 1903-04.
- Miss H. L. Lorimer. Girton College, Cambridge. Classical Tutor of Somerville College, Oxford. Admitted as Pfeiffer Travelling Student, 1901-02.
- Baroness E. Rosenörn-Lehn. Royal Holloway College, and University College, London. Admitted 1901-02.
- A. P. Oppé. B.A. New College, Oxford. Victoria and Albert Museum. Formerly Examiner in the Board of Education. Lecturer in Greek at St. Andrews University, and Lecturer in Ancient History at Edinburgh University. Admitted 1901-02.
- W. L. H. Duckworth. M.D., Sc.D., M.A. Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. University Lecturer in Physical Anthropology. Admitted 1902-03.
- C. T. Currelly. M.A., F.R.G.S. Victoria College, Toronto. Director of the Royal Museum, Ontario. Formerly Assistant to Professor Flinders Petrie, under the Egypt Exploration Fund. Admitted 1902-03. Re-admitted 1903-04.
- R. McG. Dawkins. M.A. Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Director of the School from 1906. Admitted 1902-03. Re-admitted as Craven Student, 1903-04. Re-admitted 1904-05.
- E. S. Forster. M.A., F.S.A. Bishop Frazer's Scholar, Oriel College, Oxford. Lecturer in Greek in the University of Sheffield. Formerly Assistant Lecturer in the University College of N. Wales. Admitted on appointment to the Oxford Studentship, 1902-03. Re-admitted 1903-04, with grants from the Craven Fund and Oriel College.
- A. J. B. Wace. M.A. Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Lecturer in Ancient History and Archaeology at University of St. Andrews. Prendergast Student. Craven Student. Assistant Director of the British School at Rome, 1905. Admitted 1902-03. Re-admitted 1903-04, 1904-05, 1905-06, 1906-07, 1907-08, 1908-09, 1909-10, 1910-11.
- E. W. Webster. M.A. Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford. Taylorian Scholar in German, 1901. John Locke Scholar in Mental Philosophy, 1904. Admitted 1902-03.
- J. F. Fulton. Soane Student. Admitted 1902-03.
- E. F. Reynolds. Admitted 1902-03.
- M. O. B. Caspari. B.A. Late Scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. University Scholar in German. Reader in Ancient History in the University of London. Admitted 1903-04.

- J. L. Stokes. B.A. Scholar of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Librarian of Charterhouse School. Admitted (as Holder of the Prior Scholarship from Pembroke College), 1903-04.
- Miss M. K. Welsh (Mrs. A. M. Daniel). Newnham College, Cambridge. Holder of the Marion Kennedy Studentship. Admitted 1903-04.
- G. Dickins. M.A. Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford. Craven Fellow. Admitted 1904-05. Re-admitted as School Student, 1905-06, 1906-07, 1907-08, 1908-09.
- C. C. T. Doll. M.A. Trinity College, Cambridge. Superintending Architect at the excavations at Knossos since 1905. Admitted 1904-05.
- C. H. Hawes. M.A. Trinity College, Cambridge. Professor of Anthropology, Dartmouth College, U.S.A. Admitted 1904-05.
- W. A. Kirkwood. M.A. University College, Toronto. Admitted 1904-05.
- H. J. W. Tillyard. M.A. Caius College, Cambridge. Lecturer in Greek, University of Edinburgh. Admitted 1904-05 as Assistant Librarian. Re-admitted 1905-06 (on appointment to Studentship), 1906-07, 1908-09.
- Miss G. M. A. Richter. M.A. Girton College, Cambridge. Assistant Curator in Department of Classical Antiquities, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Admitted 1904-05.
- J. P. Droop. B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge. Officer of Egypt Explor. Fund. Assistant to Dr. Stein in the arrangement of his collections. Admitted 1905-06. Prendergast Student 1906-07, 1907-08, 1908-09, 1910-11.
- Miss M. Hamilton. M.A. D.Litt. (Mrs. G. Dickins). University of St. Andrews. Holder of a Research Fellowship under the Carnegie Trust. Admitted 1905-06, 1906-07.
- A. C. B. Brown. B.A. Scholar of New College, Oxford. Fereday Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford. Formerly Assistant Lecturer in Classics, Manchester University. Assistant Master at Marlborough College. Admitted 1905-06.
- F. Orr. Admitted 1905-06.
- R. Traquair. A.R.I.B.A. Admitted 1905-06 (on appointment to an Architectural Studentship). Lecturer on Architecture to the Edinburgh College of Art. Student of the Byzantine Fund.
- Miss E. B. Abrahams. M.A. University College, London. Admitted 1905-06.
- J. Farrell. M.A. Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. Admitted 1906-07, 1907-08, 1908-09.
- Walter S. George. Travelling Student in Architecture of the Royal College of Art. Soane Medallist of Royal Institute of British Architects. Admitted 1906-07. Re-admitted 1908-9, 1909-10, as Student of the Byzantine Research Fund.
- T. E. Peet. B.A. Queen's College, Oxford. Officer of Egypt Explor. Fund. Admitted as Craven Fellow 1906-07, 1908-09.
- A. M. Woodward. M.A. Late Classical Demy of Magdalen College, Oxford. Lecturer in Ancient History, University of Liverpool. Assistant Director, 1909-10. Admitted 1906-7, 1907-08, 1908-09.
- W. M. Calder. B.A. Christ Church, Oxford. Formerly Wilson Travelling Fellow, Aberdeen University. Research Student, Brasenose College, Oxford. Admitted 1907-08.
- W. Harvey. Gold Medallist and Travelling Student of the Royal Academy. Admitted 1907-08.

- H. Pirie-Gordon. M.A. Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1907-08.
- M. S. Thompson. B.A. Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Holder of Chas. Oldham University Scholarship. Admitted 1907-08, 1908-09, 1909-10, 1910-11.
- A. C. Sheepshanks. B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge. Assistant Master at Eton. Admitted 1907-08.
- N. Whatley. M.A. Fellow of Hertford College, Oxford. Admitted 1907-08.
- G. L. Cheesman. M.A. Fellow and Lecturer of New College, Oxford. Admitted 1908-09.
- A. W. Gomme. B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge. Assistant Lecturer in Greek, University of Glasgow. Formerly Assistant Lecturer in Classics, Liverpool University. Prendergast Student. Admitted 1908-09.
- L. B. Budden. B.A. Travelling Student in Architecture of the University of Liverpool. Admitted 1909-10.
- S. W. Grose. B.A. Scholar of Christ's College, Cambridge. School Student. Admitted 1909-10.
- H. A. Ormerod. B.A. Queen's College, Oxford. Assistant Lecturer in Greek, University of Liverpool. Admitted 1909-10, 1910-11.
- H. H. Jewell. Royal Academy Gold Medallist. Admitted 1909-10.
- W. R. Halliday, B.A. New College, Oxford. Lecturer in Greek History and Archaeology, University of Glasgow. Craven Fellow. Admitted 1910-11.
- Miss D. Lamb. Newnham College, Cambridge. Admitted 1910-11.
- Miss L. E. Tennant. Admitted 1910-11.
- E. S. G. Robinson, B.A. Christ's College, Oxford. Assistant in the Coin and Medal Dept., British Museum. School Student. Admitted 1910-11.
- L. B. Tillard, B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1910-11.

ASSOCIATES OF THE SCHOOL.

Rev. A. H. Cruikshank.	Elected	1896.
Ambrose Poynter, Esq.	"	1896.
J. E. Brooks, Esq.	"	1896.
Miss Louisa Pesel.	"	1902.
J. F. Crace, Esq.	"	1902.
Miss Mona Wilson.	"	1903.
J. S. Carter, Esq.	"	1903.
B. Townsend, Esq.	"	1903.
A. M. Daniel, Esq.	"	1903.
H. W. Allen, Esq.	"	1906.
W. Miller, Esq.	"	1906.
George Kennedy, Esq.	"	1906.
A. E. Zimmern, Esq.	"	1910.
Miss Negreponte	"	1912.

SUGGESTED PLAN OF STUDY.

Under an ideal system a student would spend two or three seasons in Greece, devoting *the first year to general studies, the second to some special subject.*

During the first year the student, while not losing sight of his special subject, might apportion his time thus:—

August and September.—Learn German in Berlin, Munich, or Dresden, and thus be able to profit by the three or four courses of lectures given by the Secretaries of the German and Austrian Institutes in Athens. For archaeological literature some knowledge of German is practically essential.

October.—Arrive in Greece. Acquire if possible some use of Modern Greek. See Olympia, Delphi, Mycenae, Epidauros, the Argive Heraion, before the November rains.

November (middle).—Remain three or four months in Athens steadily working at sites and in Museums, attending courses of lectures and making frequent short excursions to points of interest by train, cycle, etc.

March and April.—Travel, study sites, join one of the Island cruises for students.

May and June.—Begin to concentrate on special work, *e.g.* assist in excavations, with a view to working upon the results during the coming year and excavating with more or less complete control in the second summer,

or explore a given district in Greece or Asia Minor, an island or a group of islands,

or work in museums in Italy, Austria, or Germany,

or attend lectures in Pompeii and spend some months in Rome and the cooler Etruscan cities. In this case the student is advised to attach himself to the British School at Rome (Palazzo Odescalchi), in order that he may be admitted to the Library, and have the right to attend the lectures (see rules of the School).

The second year should be devoted almost entirely to special work in a narrower field.

The course here suggested must be modified to suit each case. There will always be students who are already specialists in some branch of classical learning and only seek fresh material for research. There will be others who wish to see something of all sides of ancient life in order to illuminate their reading and fit themselves for general classical teaching, although they have not time for minute archaeological study.

RULES AND REGULATIONS OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS.

OBJECTS OF THE SCHOOL.

I. The first aim of the School shall be to promote the study of Greek archaeology in all its departments. Among these shall be (i) the study of Greek art and architecture in their remains of every period ; (ii) the study of inscriptions ; (iii) the exploration of ancient sites ; (iv) the tracing of ancient roads and routes of traffic.

II. Besides being a School of Archaeology, it shall be also, in the most comprehensive sense, a School of Classical Studies. Every period of the Greek language and literature, from the earliest age to the present day, shall be considered as coming within the province of the School.

III. The School shall also be a centre at which information can be obtained and books consulted by British travellers in Greece.

IV. For these purposes a Library shall be formed, and maintained, of archaeological and other suitable books, including maps, plans, and photographs.

THE SUBSCRIBERS.

V. The following shall be considered as Subscribers to the School :—

(1) Donors, other than Corporate Bodies, of £10 and upwards.

(2) Annual Subscribers of £1 and upwards during the period of their subscription.

VI. A corporate body subscribing not less than £50 a year, for a term of years, shall, during that term, have the right to nominate a member of the Managing Committee.

VII. A meeting of Subscribers shall be held in October of each year, at which each Subscriber shall have one vote. A subscribing corporate body may send a representative. At this meeting a report from the Managing Committee shall be presented, including a financial statement and selections from the reports of the Director and Students for the season. At this meeting shall also be annually elected or re-elected the Treasurer and the Secretary of the School, two Auditors, and four members of the Managing Committee, in place of those retiring under Rule XIII. (3).

VIII. Special meetings of Subscribers may, if necessary, be summoned by the Managing Committee.

IX. Subscribers shall be entitled to receive a copy of any reports that may be published by the School, to use the Library, and to attend the public meetings of the School, whenever they may be in Athens.

THE TRUSTEES.

X. The property of the School shall be vested in three Trustees, who shall be appointed for life, except as hereinafter provided. Vacancies in the number of Trustees shall be filled up at the annual meeting of the Subscribers.

XI. In the event of a Trustee becoming unfit or incapable of acting, he may be removed from his office by a majority of three-fourths of those present at a special meeting of Subscribers summoned by the Managing Committee for that purpose, and another Trustee shall by the same majority be appointed in his place.

XII. In the event of the death or resignation of a Trustee occurring between two annual meetings, the Managing Committee shall have the power of nominating another Trustee to act in his place until the next annual meeting.

THE MANAGING COMMITTEE.

XIII. The Managing Committee shall consist of the following :—

(1) The Trustees of the School.

(2) The Treasurer and Secretary of the School.

(3) Twelve Members elected by the Subscribers at the annual meetings. Of these, four shall retire in each year, at first by lot, afterwards by rotation. Members retiring are eligible for re-election.

(4) The members nominated by corporate bodies under Rule VI.

XIV. The Committee shall have control of all the affairs of the School, and shall decide any dispute that may arise between the Director and Students. They shall have power to deprive any Student of the use of the school-building.

XV. The Committee shall meet as a rule once in every two months ; but the Secretary may, with the approval of the Chairman and Treasurer, summon a special meeting when necessary.

XVI. Due notice of every meeting shall be sent to each member of the Committee by a summons signed by the Secretary. Three members of the Committee shall be a quorum.

XVII. In case of an equality of votes, the Chairman shall have a second or casting vote.

XVIII. In the event of vacancies occurring among the officers or on the Committee between the annual elections, they may be provisionally filled up by the Committee until the next annual meeting.

HONORARY STUDENTS, STUDENTS, AND ASSOCIATES

XIX. The Students shall consist of the following :—

- (1) Holders of travelling fellowships, studentships, or scholarships at any University or the United Kingdom or of the British Colonies.
- (2) Travelling Students sent out by the Royal Academy, the Royal Institute of British Architects, the Byzantine Research and Publication Fund, or other similar bodies.
- (3) Other persons who shall satisfy the Managing Committee that they are duly qualified to be admitted to the privileges of the School.

XX. No person, other than a student of the British School at Rome, shall be admitted as a Student who does not intend to reside at least three months in Greek lands. In the case of Students of the British School at Rome, an aggregate residence of four months at the two Schools will be accepted as alternative to three months' residence in Greece.

XXI. Students attached to the School will be expected to pursue some definite course of study or research in a department of Hellenic studies, and to write in each season a report upon their work. Such reports shall be submitted to the Director, shall by him be forwarded to the Managing Committee, and may be published by the Committee if and as they think proper.

XXII. Intending Students are required to apply to the Secretary. They will be regarded as Students from the date of their admission by the Committee to the 31st day of October next following; but any Student admitted between July 1st and October 31st in any year shall continue to be regarded as a Student until October 31st of the following year.

XXIII. The Managing Committee may elect as Honorary Students of the School such persons as they may from time to time deem worthy of that distinction, and may also elect as Associates of the School any persons actively engaged in study or exploration in Greek lands.

XXIV. Honorary Students, Students, and Associates shall have a right to use the Library of the School and to attend all lectures given in connexion with the School, free of charge.

XXV. Students shall be expected to reside in the Hostel provided for them, except with the sanction of the Managing Committee. Priority of claim to accommodation in the Hostel shall be determined by the Committee.

THE DIRECTOR.

XXVI. The Director shall be appointed by the Managing Committee, on terms which shall be agreed upon at the time, for a period of not more than three years. He shall be eligible for re-election.

XXVII. He shall have possession of the school-building as a dwelling-house.

XXVIII. It shall be his duty (1) to guide and assist the studies of Students and Associates of the School, affording them all the aid in his power, and also to see that reports are duly furnished by Students, in accordance with Rule XXI., and placed in the hands of the Secretary before the end of June; (2) to act as Editor of the School Annual.

XXIX. (a) Public Meetings of the School shall be held in Athens during the season, at which the Director and Students of the School shall read papers on some subject of study or research, and make reports on the work undertaken by the School. (b) The Director shall deliver lectures to Students of the School. At least six of such meetings and lectures shall be held in the course of each session.

XXX. He may at his discretion allow persons, not Students of the School, to use the Library and attend his lectures.

XXXI. He shall be resident at Athens from the beginning of November in each year to the end of the following June, but shall be at liberty to absent himself for short periods for purposes of exploration or research.

XXXII. At the end of each season he shall report to the Managing Committee—(i) on the studies pursued during the season by himself and by each Student; (ii) on the state of the School-premises and the repairs needed for them; (iii) on the state of the Library and the purchases of books, &c., which he may think desirable; and (iv) on any other matter affecting the interests of the School.

XXXIII. In case of misconduct the Director may be removed from his office by the Managing Committee by a majority of three-fourths of those present at a meeting specially summoned for the purpose. Of such meeting at least a fortnight's notice shall be given.

RULES FOR THE MACMILLAN HOSTEL.

XXXIV. The management of the Hostel shall be at the discretion of the Director and shall be subject to his control.

XXXV. The Director shall have power to exclude a Student from the Hostel in case of misconduct ; but such exclusion must be immediately reported to the Managing Committee.

XXXVI. The Students shall, until further notice, pay a fixed charge of twelve shillings a week for the smaller, and fourteen shillings a week for the larger rooms in the Hostel. These payments shall include fire, lighting, and the necessary servants' wages.

XXXVII. Honorary Students, Associates, members of the Committee, and ex-directors may be admitted to residence in the Hostel. Other persons, if seriously engaged in study or research, may be admitted by the Director at his discretion. But no person shall reside in the Hostel under this rule to the exclusion of any Student desiring admission.

XXXVIII. The weekly charge for residents other than Students shall be seventeen shillings and sixpence until further notice.

XXXIX. The Director shall draw up further rules for the internal management of the Hostel ; such rules to be subject to the approval of the Managing Committee.

RULES FOR THE LIBRARY.

XL. The Director shall have power to make rules for the management of the Library, its use by Students, and the like ; such rules to be subject to the approval of the Managing Committee.

PUBLICATION.

XLI. No publication whatever, respecting the work of the School, shall be made without the previous approval of the Committee.

THE FINANCES.

XLII. All money received on behalf of the School beyond what is required for current expenses shall be invested in the names and at the discretion of the Trustees.

XLIII. The banking account of the School shall be placed in the names of the Treasurer and Secretary, who shall sign cheques jointly.

XLIV. The first claim on the revenue of the School shall be the maintenance and repair of the School-building, and the payment of rates, taxes, and insurance.

XLV. The second claim shall be the salaries of the Director and Secretary, as arranged between them and the Managing Committee.

XLVI. In case of there being a surplus, a sum shall be annually devoted to the maintenance of the Library of the School and to the publication of a report ; and a fund shall be formed from which grants may be made for travelling and excavation.

Revised, 1908.

MANAGING COMMITTEE, 1911—1912.

EDWIN FRESHFIELD, ESQ., LL.D.

WALTER LEAF, ESQ., Litt.D.

GEORGE A. MACMILLAN, ESQ., D.Litt., *Chairman.*

} *Trustees.*

PROFESSOR PERCY GARDNER, Litt.D. Appointed by the University of Oxford.

SIR JOHN SANDYS, Litt.D. Appointed by the University of Cambridge.

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A. J. B. WACE, ESQ., M.A.

SIR CHARLES WALDSTEIN, Litt.D.

L. WHIBLEY, ESQ., M.A.

} Appointed by the Subscribers.

V. W. YORKE, ESQ., M.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, 254B, Gray's Inn Road, W.C.

JOHN H. BAKER-PENNYRE, ESQ., M.A., *Secretary*, 19, Bloomsbury Square, W.C.

ACTING DIRECTOR, 1911—1912.

F. W. HASLUCK, Esq., M.A., Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge.

Interim Acting Director :—A. J. B. WACE, Esq., M.A., Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge.

Librarian :—F. W. HASLUCK, Esq., M.A.

NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS.

CONTRIBUTORS to the *Annual of the British School at Athens* are requested to use the following systems of transliteration when writing in English such Greek words as have not become part of the English language :—

ANCIENT GREEK.

Vowels.

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} a = \alpha : \\ \epsilon = e : \\ \eta = \epsilon : \end{array} \right\} \text{krater, lekane.}$$

$\iota = i :$ kalpis.

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} o \\ \omega = o : \end{array} \right. \text{kothon, kantharos, Amyklaion.}$$

$v = y$ after a consonant, as aryballos, kylix ; u after another vowel, as boule.

$ai = ai :$ Aigion, Erythrai, except at the end of words, such as Mycenae, which are commonly Latinised in form, when *ae* may be used.

$ei = ei :$ Meidias.

$oi = oi :$ Chalkioikos.

$ui = ui :$ muia.

$av = au :$ Aulis.

$ev = eu :$ Eutychos.

$ov = ou :$ boule.

Consonants.

$\beta = b ; \gamma = g ; \delta = d ; \zeta = z ; \theta = th ; \kappa = k^1 ; \lambda = l ; \mu = m ; \nu = n ; \xi = x ;$
 $\pi = p ; \rho = r ; \sigma, \varsigma = s ; \tau = t ; \phi = ph ; \chi = ch ; \psi = ps ; \gamma\gamma = ng ; \gamma\kappa = nk ;$
 $\gamma\chi = nch ; \rho' = rh.$

¹ κ never = *c* except for place-names like Corinth, Mycenae, or some names of persons like Cleon, which have become English words.

Accents.

Contributors are requested to indicate accents and breathings very clearly and accurately.

MODERN GREEK.¹*Vowels.*

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} a = \alpha : \\ \epsilon = \epsilon : \\ \eta = \epsilon : \\ \iota = \dot{\iota} : \end{array} \right\} \text{Πέντε Πηγάδια} = \text{Pénte Pegádia.}$$

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \circ = \circ : \\ \omega = \circ : \end{array} \right\} \text{Γεώργιος} = \text{Geórgios.}$$

$\upsilon = \gamma :$ Μολάοι = Moláoi. But for *av*, *ev*, *ou* see below.

$\alpha\iota = \alpha\dot{\iota} :$ Καισαριανή = Kaisariané.

$\epsilon\iota = \epsilon\dot{\iota} :$ Ἁγία Εἰρήνη = Hagía Eiréne.

$\omicron\iota = \omicron\dot{\iota} :$ Μύλοι = Mýloi.

$\upsilon\iota = \upsilon\dot{\iota} :$ Ψυχουῖός = psychoyiós.

$\omicron\upsilon = \omicron\upsilon :$ Σκριπού = Skripoù.

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} av \\ ev \end{array} \right\} = af \text{ and } ef \text{ before unvoiced consonants } (\theta, \kappa (\xi, \psi), \pi, \varsigma, \tau, \phi, \chi) \text{ and}$
 $av, ev \text{ before vowels and voiced consonants: Εὐθύμιος} =$
 Efthýmios; Λάυρα = Lávra.

Consonants.

$\beta = v$; $\gamma = g$, but $\gamma\gamma, \gamma\kappa$ and $\gamma\chi$ as *ng, nk* and *nch*; $\delta = d$; $\xi = z$; $\theta = th$;
 $\kappa = k$; $\lambda = l$; $\mu = m$; $\nu = n$; $\xi = x$; $\pi = p$; $\rho = r$; $\rho\rho = rrh$; $\dot{\rho} = rh$; $\sigma, \varsigma = s$;
 $\tau = t$; $\phi, \chi, \psi = ph, ch, ps$.

The rough breathing to be written *h*: Ἁγιος Γεώργιος = H. Geórgios.

Accents.

Accents, in all cases to be written as acute, to be indicated.

In any case where the Greek form of the word is felt to be obscured it may be added in Greek letters (in brackets) the first time a word occurs, and conversely the exact pronunciation, if it should be of importance for any reason, may be specially indicated.

¹ The arguments in support of this system will be found in Mr. R. M. Dawkins' paper on 'The Transliteration of Modern Greek' in *B.S.A.* vol. xv.

ABBREVIATIONS, ETC.

For the conventions respecting the indication of quotations from ancient and modern authorities, titles of periodical and collective publications, transliteration of inscriptions, and quotations from MSS. and literary texts, contributors are referred to the accompanying notes drawn up by the Editors of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, and kindly placed by them at the disposal of contributors to the *Annual*.

[REPRINTED FROM *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, VOL. XXIX., PART II., 1909, PP. LXXXVII—IX.]

Quotations from Ancient and Modern Authorities.

Names of authors should not be underlined; titles of books, articles, periodicals, or other collective publications should be underlined (for italics). If the title of an article is quoted as well as the publication in which it is contained, the latter should be bracketed. Thus:

Six, *Jahrb.* xviii. 1903, p. 34,

or—

Six, *Protogenes* (*Jahrb.* xviii. 1903), p. 34.

But as a rule the shorter form of citation is to be preferred.

The number of the edition, when necessary, should be indicated by a small figure above the line; *e.g.* Dittenb. *Syll.*² 123.

Titles of Periodical and Collective Publications.

The following abbreviations are suggested, as already in more or less general use. In other cases, no abbreviation which is not readily identified should be employed.

A.-E.M. = Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen.

Ann. d. I. = Annali dell' Istituto.

Arch. Anz. = Archäologischer Anzeiger (Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch).

Arch. Zeit. = Archäologische Zeitung.

Ath. Mitt. = Mitteilungen des Deutschen Arch. Inst., Athenische Abteilung.

Baumeister = Baumeister, Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums.

B.C.H. = Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.

- Berl. Vas.* = Furtwängler, Beschreibung der Vasensammlung zu Berlin.
B.M. Bronzes = British Museum Catalogue of Bronzes.
B.M. Coins = British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins.
B.M. Rings = British Museum Catalogue of Finger-Rings.
B.M. Inscr. = Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum.
B.M. Jewellery = British Museum Catalogue of Jewellery.
B.M. Sculpt. = British Museum Catalogue of Sculpture.
B.M. Terracottas = British Museum Catalogue of Terracottas.
B.M. Vases. = British Museum Catalogue of Vases, 1893, etc.
B.S.A. = Annual of the British School at Athens.
B.S.R. = Papers of the British School at Rome.
Bull. d. I. = Bullettino dell' Istituto.
 Busolt = Busolt, Griechische Geschichte.
C.I.G. = Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.
C.I.L. = Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.
Cl. Rev. = Classical Review.
C.R. Acad. Inscr. = Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions.
C.R. St. Pétr. = Compte rendu de la Commission de St. Pétersbourg.
 Dar.-Sagl. = Daremberg-Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités.
 Dittenb. *O.G.I.* = Dittenberger, Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae.
 Dittenb. *Syll.* = Dittenberger, Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum.
 *Εφ. Ἀρχ. = Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική.
G.D.I. = Collitz, Sammlung der Griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften (or Collitz-Bechtel).
 Gerh. *A.V.* = Gerhard, Auserlesene Vasenbilder.
G.G.A. = Göttingensche Gelehrte Anzeigen.
 Head, *H.N.*² = Head, Historia Numorum. Revised Edition, 1910.
I.G. = Inscriptiones Graecae.¹
I.G.A. = Röhl, Inscriptiones Graecae antiquissimae.
Jahrb. = Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.
Jahresh. = Jahreshefte des Oesterreichischen Archäologischen Instituts.
J.H.S. = Journal of Hellenic Studies.
Klio = Klio (Beiträge zur alten Geschichte).
 Le Bas-Wadd. = Le Bas-Waddington, Voyage Archéologique.
Liverpool Annals = Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology of University of Liverpool.
 Michel = Michel, Recueil d'Inscriptions grecques.
Mon. d. I. = Monumenti dell' Istituto.
 Müller-Wies. = Müller-Wieseler, Denkmäler der alten Kunst.
Mus. Marbles. = Collection of Ancient Marbles in the British Museum.

¹ The attention of contributors is called to the fact that the titles of the volumes of the second issue of the Corpus of Greek Inscriptions, published by the Prussian Academy, have now been changed, as follows :—

- | | | | |
|-------------|------|---|---|
| <i>I.G.</i> | I. | = | Inscr. Atticae anno Euclidis vetustiores. |
| " | II. | = | " " aetatis quae est inter Eucl. ann. et Augusti tempora. |
| " | III. | = | " " aetatis Romanae. |
| " | IV. | = | " Argolidis. |
| " | VII. | = | " Megaridis et Boeotiae. |
| " | IX. | = | " Graeciae Septentrionalis. |
| " | XII. | = | " Insul. Maris Aegaei praeter Delum. |
| " | XIV. | = | " Italiae et Siciliae. |

Neue Jahrb. kl. Alt. = Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum.

Neue Jahrb. Phil. = Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie.

Niese = Niese, Geschichte der griechischen u. makedonischen Staaten.

Num. Chr. = Numismatic Chronicle.

Num. Zeit. = Numismatische Zeitschrift.

Pauly-Wissowa = Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.

Philol. = Philologus.

Ramsay, *C.B.* = Ramsay, Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia.

Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.* = Ramsay, Historical Geography of Asia Minor.

Reinach, *Rép. Sculpt.* = S. Reinach, Répertoire des Sculptures.

Reinach, *Rép. Vases* = S. Reinach, Répertoire des Vases peints

Rev. Arch. = Revue Archéologique.

Rev. Ét. Gr. = Revue des Études Grecques.

Rev. Num. = Revue Numismatique.

Rev. Philol. = Revue de Philologie.

Rh. Mus. = Rheinisches Museum.

Röm. Mitt. = Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung.

Roscher = Roscher, Lexicon der Mythologie.

S.M.C. = Sparta Museum Catalogue.

T.A.M. = Tituli Asiae Minoris.

Z.f.N. = Zeitschrift für Numismatik.

Transliteration of Inscriptions.

[] Square brackets to indicate additions, *i.e.* a lacuna filled by conjecture.

() Curved brackets to indicate alterations, *i.e.* (1) the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol; (2) letters misrepresented by the engraver; (3) letters wrongly omitted by the engraver; (4) mistakes of the copyist.

<> Angular brackets to indicate omissions, *i.e.* to enclose superfluous letters appearing on the original.

... Dots to represent an unfilled lacuna when the exact number of missing letters is known.

--- Dashes for the same purpose, when the number of missing letters is not known.

Uncertain letters should have dots under them.

Where the original has iota adscript, it should be reproduced in that form; otherwise it should be supplied as subscript.

The aspirate, if it appears on the original, should be represented by a special sign, [†].

Quotations from MSS. and Literary Texts.

The same conventions should be employed for this purpose as for inscriptions, with the following *important exceptions*.

() Curved brackets to indicate only the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol.

[[]] Double square brackets to enclose superfluous letters appearing in the original.

< > Angular brackets to enclose letters supplying an omission in the original.

British School at Athens.

THIS School (founded in 1886) gives to British Students of Greek Archaeology and Art the opportunity of pursuing their researches in Greece itself, with command of the means which the recent great advances of the science have rendered indispensable.

Athens is now an archaeological centre of the first rank. The architecture of Greece can nowhere else be studied to such advantage; and the concentration in the Athenian museums, of treasures of Antiquity found in Greek soil during the last few decades of years, has made a personal knowledge of those museums in the highest degree desirable for Hellenic scholars.

The student requires two auxiliaries when working in Athens. First, the command of an adequate library; and second, the advice of trained archaeologists residing on the spot, who follow the rapid advance of the science due to new discovery and the rearrangement of old materials.

These advantages are now provided for French, German, Austrian, American, and British archaeologists. By means of these Schools many excavations on Greek soil have been carried out; and those conducted in Cyprus, in the Peloponnese, in Melos, in Crete, and, finally, in Sparta and Northern Greece by the British School during the past twenty-five Sessions are an encouraging proof of the work that may be done in the future if the School be adequately supported. The *Annual of the British School at Athens*, an archaeological periodical of recognisedly high standing, affords an opportunity for the publication of the Students' more important results.

Students are admitted free of charge. They are required to pursue some definite course of Hellenic study or research, residing for the purpose not less than three months in Greek lands,¹ and at the end of the Session to write a report of the work they have done. Applications from intending students should be made to the Secretary, JOHN ff. BAKER-PENOYRE, Esq., 19, Bloomsbury Square, W.C., who will also give full information.

Donations or annual subscriptions to the School are much needed, and will be gladly received. They should be sent to the Hon. Treasurer, V. W. YORKE, Esq., M.A., 254B, Gray's Inn Road, W.C.

¹ In the case of Students of the British School at Rome, an aggregate residence of four months at the two Schools will be accepted as alternative to three months' residence at the School at Athens.

INDEX.

AEGEAN ISLANDS, condition of, at end of Frankish rule 172 ff.; improved after Turkish conquest, 172; state directed repopulation of, in 16th cent. 173-174; Albanian settlements in, 174; table shewing dates of abandonment and repopulation, 175; ethnological and linguistic consequences of, 175; later periods of displacement of population, *ibid.*; conclusions, *ibid.* see also under Cyclades, N. and S. Sporades.

Aegina, raid on by Barbarossa, 162; Albanian settlers in, *ibid.*

ἄγω=ago, 93 note 3

ἄγων θέμιδος Δονγιλῆας, 209

Ainea, (?) site of, 281

Ainios, R. possibly Aisepos, 281

ἔκτα διὰ Καλαπόδιον, 93; date of, 94

Amastira, site of, 132 f.; gates of, 132, 133, 137, 138; history of, 132; Genoese colony at, 135; seized by Turks, 134; Genoese heraldry at, 135 ff.

Amazons, theory of origin of Greek traditions concerning, 95, 96

Amyntas III., connections of, 202, 203; extent of kingdom of, 203, 204

Antonio di Millo, 151 f.; profession of, 161; references to, 151 f.; *Isolarii* by, 151; notes by, on condition of Aegean Islands, 156 ff.

Apollo 'of the Lyreotai,' 230; sacrifice to, provided for, 231, 234

Artemis, Pergaia, 229, 231; Soteira, shrine of, at Thebes, 36 note 8

Athena Onka, shrine of, at Thebes, 48 note 8

Athos, Mount, notes on monasteries in 1677, 103 ff.; names of those visited, 104, 113; rule of, 114 ff.; plan of, 116 note 3, 124; officials of, 109 ff.; ceremonial of, 114; tribute paid by, 112; libraries of, 127; modern rule of,

127; all monasteries under *coenobitic* rule until middle of 16th cent. 127 f.; then became *idiorythmic*, 128; early in 19th cent. smaller houses reverted to *coenobitic* rule, 128: all monasteries now *stavropegia*, 122 note 4; dates of foundation and rebuilding, 128, 129; towers at, 128, 129; masonry of, 128: tile work, 129: see also under Caracal, Chiliadar, Cotulmuses, Dochiariou, Iberus, Karaes, Laura, Pantocratora, Philotheou, Siméno, Stavroniketa, Vatopedi.

αὐλῶν, of the Aisepos R., 277, 279; modern form, Avunia, *ibid.* note 1

Avunia, position of, 277, 279; natural resources of, 279

Axe, bronze Double, 22; on L.M. I. clay sealing from Zakro, 265

Azoros, conjectural site of, 201; boundary dispute with Thessalian city, 201

BELLS, Italian at Vatopedi, 126 note 2; inscribed, 125

Birytos, in Athenian tribute-list, 273; coinage of, 273; site of, 273 ff.

Boundary disputes, method of settling in imperial times, 197 f.; careful regard for tradition, 198 f.; inscriptions recording, 194, 197, 199; formulae of, 97

Bronze arrow-head and axe (Phylakopi) 22; candelabrum (Hellenistic) 77; helmet (do.) 77; knife and spear-head (Phylakopi), 22

Byzantine, inscriptions, in honour of charioteer, 89 ff.; 107, 117, 118, 126, 142: monastery buildings on Mt. Athos, 129 f.; mosaics in churches, 122, 126; pottery from Sparta, see under Pottery: ruins at Palaioigratsiano, 201: settlements on the Black Sea, 133, 141; at Skepsis, 283

- CAFFA, 134
 Caracal (Caracállou), monastery of, 115; names of founders, 116; towers at, 116
 Celt, socketed, on L.M. I. clay sealing from Zakro, 265; from Phylakopi, 22
 Cenotaphs of ancient Greek heroes, 182, 183
 Chiliadar, monastery of, 124; founded from Vatopédi, *ibid.*; origin of name, 124 and note 1
 Circus Factions, 91 and note 1
 Clay sealings from Zakro, 264, 265; date of, 264; designs on, 264, 265; details of costume and axe on, 265; importance of type, *ibid.*
 Coins, bronze, from Megalopolis, shewing group by Damophon, 80, 81; from Troad, 273, 274, 276
Commentarius, 196; functions of, 197
 Copper, introduction of, into Egypt, 251, 252; into W. Mediterranean, 261
 Cotulmuses (Koutloumóusi), monastery of, 121; founders of, murder contractor Murtzas, *ibid.*; site, plan, and property of, *ibid.*
 Cretan goddess with lion, type of, on L.M. I. sealing, 265; comparison of, with L.M. II. rendering, *ibid.*
 Cyclades, 158 ff.; miserable conditions of, at end of Frankish period, 158; Turkish conquest of, 159; improvement in, *ibid.*; raids on, by Barbarossa, 159, 160, 162; Albanian settlements in, 159, 161, 162; Tenos held by Venetians till 1714, 162
 DAMOPHON, group of, at Lycosura, 80 ff.; restorations of, 81 ff.; represented on coin of Megalopolis, 80, 81; main features of restoration confirmed by, 81, 85, 87; pose of Artemis, 85 f. Points of divergence, 82, 83. Evidence of coin: uncertain, for position of dog, 84; omission of drapery, 87: erroneous, for position of arms of Demeter, 87: satisfactory, for length of torch, 85, 87: for Anytos, 84
 Deivaites, 185
 Demosion, 93
 Divination, by water of magic well, 185, 189: by bowl of water, 189 f.; by crystal or mirror, 190; substitution of spirit of well for magic water, 190 f.; methods of invoking, 190, 191; description by Hippolytos of, 191
 δημιουργός πῶτος, 210
 διβέρσιον, 91, 92 and note 1
 Dochiariou, monastery of, fine church at, 126
 Doliche, conjectural site of, 201: boundary dispute of, with Elemiotis in 4th cent. B.C., 198; in imperial times, 197 f.; adjudication of arbitrator, 202 f.
 Dolichocephaly of predynastic race in Egypt, 251
 Dolmens, types of, 256, 257; construction of, 257; wide-spread area in which found, 259, 262
 EGYPT, dolichocephaly of predynastic inhabitants of, 251; intrusion of brachycephalic element after 1st dynasty, *ibid.*: early influence of, in Mediterranean, Prof. Elliot Smith's theory of, 252, 262; no proof of, in W. Mediterranean previous to XIIth dynasty, 253; proved for Crete, not later than end of XIth dynasty, 256 f.; evidence inconclusive from pottery and stone vases, 254, 255; satisfactory, from seal stones, 255
 Elemea, probable site of, 202
 Ellez in Pamphylia, origin of name, 217 note 2
 Elemiotis, district of, 197, 201; boundary disputes with Doliche, 197, 198; awards of arbitrators, 202 f.
 Ἐνδάρες, Skythian, literary evidence concerning, 96 ff., 101, 102; modern parallels to, 97 ff., 99, 101; of Askalon, 98, 99 ff.; comparison between two classes, 99, 100, 102; probable absence of ritual explanation among Skythians, 100, 102. Erroneous conception of Aristotle, concerning "Royal" Skythians, 100 f.; of Hippokrates, 101, 102; explanation of story of connection of Skythians with Askalon, 98, 101; and curse upon, 99
 FEAST, annual for village in Pamphylia, provided for in wills (temp. Domitian & Hadrian) 229, 232, 233, 234
 Fortresses, Greek in Phokis, *see* under Phokis; Messene, 69, 73; Samikon, 69
 Frankish occupation of Aegean Islands, end of, 158, 163, 165, 173
 Funerary character of megalithic monuments, 262
 GENOESE, colonies on the Black Sea, 132, 134, 141; heraldry *see* under Heraldry; occupation of islands in the Southern Sporades, 163 ff.
 Geometric designs on Byzantine pottery, *see* under Pottery, Byzantine; on pottery from Phylakopi, *see* under Phylakopi, Pottery.

- Giustiniani of Chios, rule of, at Samos, 168; deport Psarians to Chios, 168
γλωσσόκομον, 236
- HELLENISTIC *articles de luxe* in tholos tomb of Thracian chief, 77
 Helmet, bronze-gilt of Hellenistic date, 77
 Heraldry, Genoese, 135 ff., 139, 140, 141, 142; of Rhodian knights, 147, 148 f.; of Pope (?), 147, 150
 Hermes Agoraios, shrine of, at Thebes, 36 note 8
 Heroön, Ionic, at Indjik in Pamphylia, 220; relief from, 220; inscription on, 241
- IBERUS (Ivéron) monastery of, 117 ff.; library of, 117, 120; founder of, 117, 119; plan of, 118, 119; hospital at, 119; treasures of, 119; miraculous picture of, *ibid.*; property of, 120
 Indjik, identification of site, 224; dependent on Perge in Roman period, 221, 224, 239, 242; importance of, in Byzantine times, 221 note 3, 224 note 6; heroön at, 220, 241, 242; inscribed sarcophagi at, 220; inscriptions from, 235 f.
- Inscriptions, Byzantine, 89 ff. (metrical), 107, 117, 118, 126, 142. Classical, Greek, from Pamphylia, 217, note 3 = *C.I.G.* 4341 b.; astragalos, 221; on heroön, 220, 241 f.; on sarcophagi, recording penalties for non-performance of wishes of deceased, 225, 227, 228, 239, 240, 241; on statue, 245; on stelai, 243, 246 f.; on tomb, 235; on tower, 218, 228 ff.; on walls, 245: from W. Pisidia, dedications to Emperors, 205 ff.; agonistic, 208 ff.; miscellaneous, 210 f. Bilingual, 207. Latin from N. Perrhaebia, 193 ff.; palimpsest from W. Pisidia, 208 f. Mediaeval, 137, 140, 141, 176 (metrical)
- Intramural interment of infants, 6 ff.; prehistoric, at Phylakopi, 7 ff.; pre-Mycenaean at Aegina, 9, note 1; at Knossos, *ibid.*; early Roman, 9 and note 2
 Isthmus, cut by Xerxes, 126 f.; monkish stories of, 127
Isolarii, of Antonio di Millo (sixteenth century), 151 f.; of Lupazzolo (seventeenth century), 153 f.; importance of, 156
- JULIA DOMNA, head of, on coin of Megalopolis, 81
- KARAES (Karyés) etymology of, 121 note 7; church of, 121; called *πορτάτο*, 121; description of, 122
κατακορακίω, technical meaning o., 226
 Kebrene, site of, 266, 272; eponymous founder of, 272; feud with Skepsis, 272, 274, 282; later history of, 267, 274
 Kilidj Ali, re-settlement of Samos by, 169 f., 172
 Kotylos, position of, 269, 270, 278
Kona-element in Lycian names, 213
 Krammats, 183
κυριακὸν ταμεῖον, 226; *κ.φῖσκος*, *ibid.*
- LAURA (Lavra), monastery of, 105 ff.; management of, 109 ff.; property of, 115; founder of, 108; plan of, 108 f.
 Lekanomancy, 189 ff.
 Leontocastron, fortress of, held by Genoese, 141
 Lupazzolo, Francesco, 153 ff.; family history of, 154; works of, 153 f.; notes on condition of islands in the Aegean, 156 ff.
- MAGOULAS, Thessalian, 76
 Manolaki Petrovitizes, 103 note 3
 Masonry, in Thracian tholos tomb, 78
 Milestones from Asia Minor, with palimpsest inscriptions, 208 and note 1
 Megalithic monuments, 256 ff.; two contemporary forms of, 256 f.; variations from normal types, 257, constant features in construction of: orthostatic slab technique, 257; dolmens found throughout megalithic area, *ibid.*; use of dry masonry in, 257, combined with slab technique in 'temples'; of Malta, *ibid.*; methods of roofing, 257, 258. Rock-sepulchres, 258; early date of, *ibid.*; details of construction constant over wide area, 258, 259. Prof. Elliot Smith's theory that they were inspired by Egyptian architecture in aeneolithic period, 252, 261; examination of theory, 259 f.; Egyptian architecture horizontal, 259; no similarity between dolmen and Egyptian tomb, 260; dolmens in Sûdan, *ibid.* date of earliest megalithic monuments, 261; made without tools, *ibid.*; problem of origin of, 262
Μοδεστία, 211
 Mosaic, Byzantine, 122, 126; pavement, 222
 Mounds, artificial, in Thrace, 76 f.
- Νέα Κώμη*, 277 and note 2, 281
 Neandria, site of, 271 and note 2, 273; inhabitants moved to Alexandria Troas, 267

- Neolithic period, trade connection in, between Melos and Crete, 9: Cretan black polished vases of, compared with 1st dynasty ware from Abydos, 253
- Nez Percé Indians, animistic conception of world, 184
- OBSIDIAN, Melian, trade in, with Crete, 15; from Phylakopi, 22
- Oinochoë, bronze gilt, 77; silver, *ibid.*
- Orographic centre of Troad at Kotylos, 267, 269, 272
- οὐετραὶς ἀπὸ κορυνοκουλαρίου, 211, 212 and note 2
- PALAIAGRATSIANO, ancient site at, 201; identification of, with Elemea, 201; pithos-burial at, 201
- Palaiskepsis, site of, 276 f., 280; migration from, 280
- Pamphylia, topography of, 215 ff.; identification of ancient sites, 222, 223; inscriptions from, 217 ff.
- Pantocratora (Pantokrátora), monastery of, 120; founders of, 121; plan of, *ibid.*
- Philotheou, monastery of, 117; history of, 117; inscribed bells at, *ibid.*
- Phokis, Greek Fortresses in, 54 ff.; list of, by Herodotos, 60 ff. Identification of sites of, Aiolidai, 67 f.; Charadra, 54, 60 ff.; Erochos, 54, 63 f.; Lilaia, 62 f., 70, 73; omission of, from Herodotos' list, 62: Patronis, 54, 64 ff.; description of, by Pausanias and Plutarch, 65: Phokikon, 54, 68: Tithorea, 54, 56 ff., 71 ff.; allusions to, by Herodotos, 58, Pausanias, 58 f., Plutarch, 59. Strong strategic positions of, 69 f. Date of construction, 69, 75. Details of construction of, 59, 69 ff.; types of tower, 73; predominance of covered type with loopholes, 73 ff.; type not local, 73. Comparison of, with other Greek fortifications, 69, 73, 75; gates, 72, 74; masonry, 69 f., 72.
- Phylakopi (Melos), excavations at, 1 ff.; object of, 3; method of, 3 f.; regions excavated, 4 ff.; stratification of site, 5; continuous occupation of, 5, 6; duration of occupation, 9, 19; other streets in, 6. Foreign relations, as indicated by pottery: with Cyclades, 16; with Crete, 9 ff.; duration of, 15; with Mainland, 16 ff., duration of, 19. Intramural pithos burials of infants at, 7 ff.; date of, 7, 8; method of, 7; objects found with, 7 f.
- Finds: Pottery: Native, Primitive incised ware, 4, 6. Geometric with lustrous paint, 7 f., 9, 21; designs on, 21. Burnished, 19 f.; chronological position of, in finds, 19, 20; colour of, 19, 20, 21; (a) red slip with decoration in white paint, 19 f.; technique of, 19 f.; shapes of, 20; imitation of Minyan, do., 20; designs of, 20; chronological relation of, to Cretan, 19: (b) orange-brown, with geometric designs, 20 f.; burial pithos, 21: (c) brown-to-red, 21. Pre-Mycenaean Melian = 'Early Mycenaean with curvilinear design in matt black,' of Phylakopi, 10; characteristics of, 10, 21. 'Black-and-Red' ware, 10, 21; development of, from early fabrics, 10: chronological relations of, with 'red-and-black' ware, 11; with Cretan M.M. II., 11; with Geometric, 11; with pre-Mycenaean Melian, 11. 'Red-and-Black' ware, 10, 13; conscious imitation of Cretan L.M. I.; Cretan elements, in decoration, 11 f.; in shapes, 11, 12, 13: Melian elements, in technique, 12, 14; use of burnishing, 14; in design, 12, 13: chronological relations of, with imported L.M. II., 14; degeneration of style, 12, 14. Imported Cretan, E.M. III., 9; M.M., 10; M.M. III. (Kamares), 9, 10, 13; L.M. I., 11 f., 13: L.M. II., 14, 15; fine quality of, 14; L.M. III., 15. Minyan, 16 ff.; source of, 16; characteristics of, 16 ff.; shapes imitate metal, 17; local imitations of, 17; 'Argive' Minyan, 18: Chronological relations of, to (a) local fabrics, 17, 18; (b) Cretan ware, 17, 18: wide chronological range of importations of, 18. Late Mycenaean, 18 f.; large finds of, 18; shapes of, 19; designs on, 19; date of, 19. Urfiniss, 16; date of, 16; character of, 16; varieties of, 16, note 1: connection of, with pottery at Tiryns, 16: possible early Cycladic origin of, 16 Miscellaneous. Bone, needles, 22. Bronze, weapons, 22. Clay, crucibles, 21 f.; idols, 22; rhyton, 22; spindle-whorls, 22. Marble, 'idol', 22. Obsidian, 22. Steatite, blossom bowl, lid, 22. Stone, celts, hammer-head, 22; moulds, 21*
- Pithos burials, at Phylakopi, 7 ff.; at Palaioagratsiano, 201
- Porphyrios, charioteer, monument of, 88 ff.
- Pottery. Byzantine, from Cairo, 23, Constantinople, 23, 24, Pergamon, 23, Sparta, 23 ff.; approximate date of, 23: shapes of, 24,

- 25; clay of, 24: *Graffiato* ware, 24, 26 f.; technique of, 24: painted ware, 24, 27; colour, glazed designs of, 26, 27. *Cretan*, see under Phylakopi, Finds. *Egyptian*, incised white-filled predynastic, 254; black ware from Abydos, 252; stone vases, 254. *Melian*, *Minyan*, *Mycenaean*, *Urfirnis*, see under Phylakopi, Finds.
- RELIEFS, on monument of Porphyrios, 88, 89, 91
- Rhodian Knights, arms of, at Smyrna, 148 ff.; expelled from Rhodes, by Turks, 165
- Roman remains near Alexandria Troas, 272, 273
- St. ATHANASIOS, cross of, at Lavra, 106, 108, 115
- St. Eleutherios, 141 and note 3
- Samonian Plain, position of, 271, 272
- Santorin, eruptions in, during 16th, 17th cent., 176 ff.: in 1457, 176 ff.; Latin metrical inscription at Skaros, concerning, 176; confusion of date, 176, 177; accounts of, 178, 179, 180; Buondelmonti's map in 1420, 179: eruption in 1508, 179; effects of, 180; accounts of, 179, 80: in 1573, 180; evidence of *Isolarii* for, 180; Lupazzolo, map of, 181: in 1637, 181: in 1650, 181
- Scamander R., course of, 266 f.; basin of, *ibid.*; headwaters of, 267; physical division of basin, 266, 268 ff.
- Seal stones of VII to XI dyn. type, found in Crete, 255, 256
- Semantron, 125 and note 1
- Shamans, 97, 99, 102
- Shrines, evolution of sacred personality connected with, 182, 184, 187, 189; animistic reason of, 185, 188, 189, 191
- Silver, double-axe, patera, vase (Hellenistic) in Thracian tholos-tomb, 77
- Siméno (Esphigménou) monastery of, 126; font at, *ibid.*
- Skepsis, site of, 267, 272, 276 ff.; destruction and ruins of, 275; inscription from, 276; date of foundation of, 280; distance from Palaiskepsis, 278; causes of migration, 279 f.; territory of, 282; refounded by Lysimachos, 282, 283; later history of, 282
- Skythians, legend of connection with Askalon, 98, 101; "Royal" Skythians, 96, 100 ff.
- Smyrna, in 17th century, 155, 156; castle of, 145, 146, port of, 147
- Sporades, Northern, islands of, 157 f.; condition of, in 16th century, 157: Southern, condition of, before Turkish conquest, 163 f.; Patmos, 166, 167; Ikaria, 167, 168; Samos, 169, 170, 171; Chios, 171 f.
- Stavroniketa, monastery of, 120; founder of, *ibid.*
- THEBES, physical features of, 30, 31; topography of, 29 ff.; modern theories on, 29, 31, 32, 33, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 42, 47, 50. City destroyed four times, 31, 38, 51, 52; rebuilt three (?) times, 31, 38, 47, 50, 52. Literary evidence for extent of, in pre-classical times, 43 ff.; in classical times, 36, 37, 51: in Hellenistic times, 29, 31, 35, 39, 40 ff., 50 ff. Circuit of walls, 29, 35; gates, 42, 50 ff.; relative position of, 37, 38, 40, 42, 46, 48. Rivers, Dirke and Ismenos, 30, 35, 39 ff.
- θήλεα νοῦσος, 95; of Skythians, 95 ff.
- τετραπυργίαι, 245
- Tholos tombs, Thracian, 76 ff.; plan and construction of, 76, 78; comparison of, with Mycenaean, 78, 79; with S. Russian tombs, 79; date of, 79. At Pantikapaion, 79; plan, construction, and date of, 79. At Cumae, date of, 79 note
- Tile work, at Mt. Athos, 129 f.
- Tombs, rock-cut, at Lara in Pamphylia, 222; plan and arrangement of, *ibid.* Megalithic, see under Megalithic monuments.
- Towers, Greek, see under Phokis. Roman in Pamphylia (temp. Domitian), 218. Mediaeval, at Amastra (Genoese), 136, 137, 138; Mt. Athos (monastery), 115, 118, 128 f.; of Sarakines (Samos), 170
- Tremilas, 238
- Tripolis of N. Perrhaebia, 197, 199, 201; identification of sites of towns comprising, 199 ff.; historical evidence for, 199, 201
- VASES, bronze gilt, 77: silver, *ibid.*: stone in Cretan E M. II. period, 254; bowls (diiorite) from Knossos in M.M. and L.M. periods, suggested affinities of, with III. and IV. dynasty shapes, 255 and see under Pottery.
- Vault, in Thracian tholos tomb, construction of, 78, 79
- Vatopedi, monastery of, 123 ff.; site and founder of, 123; treasures of, *ibid.*, inscribed fountain at, 123, 126; monograms on 'anteport', 123, 124; plan of church, 123; bell-tower at, 125; property of, 124

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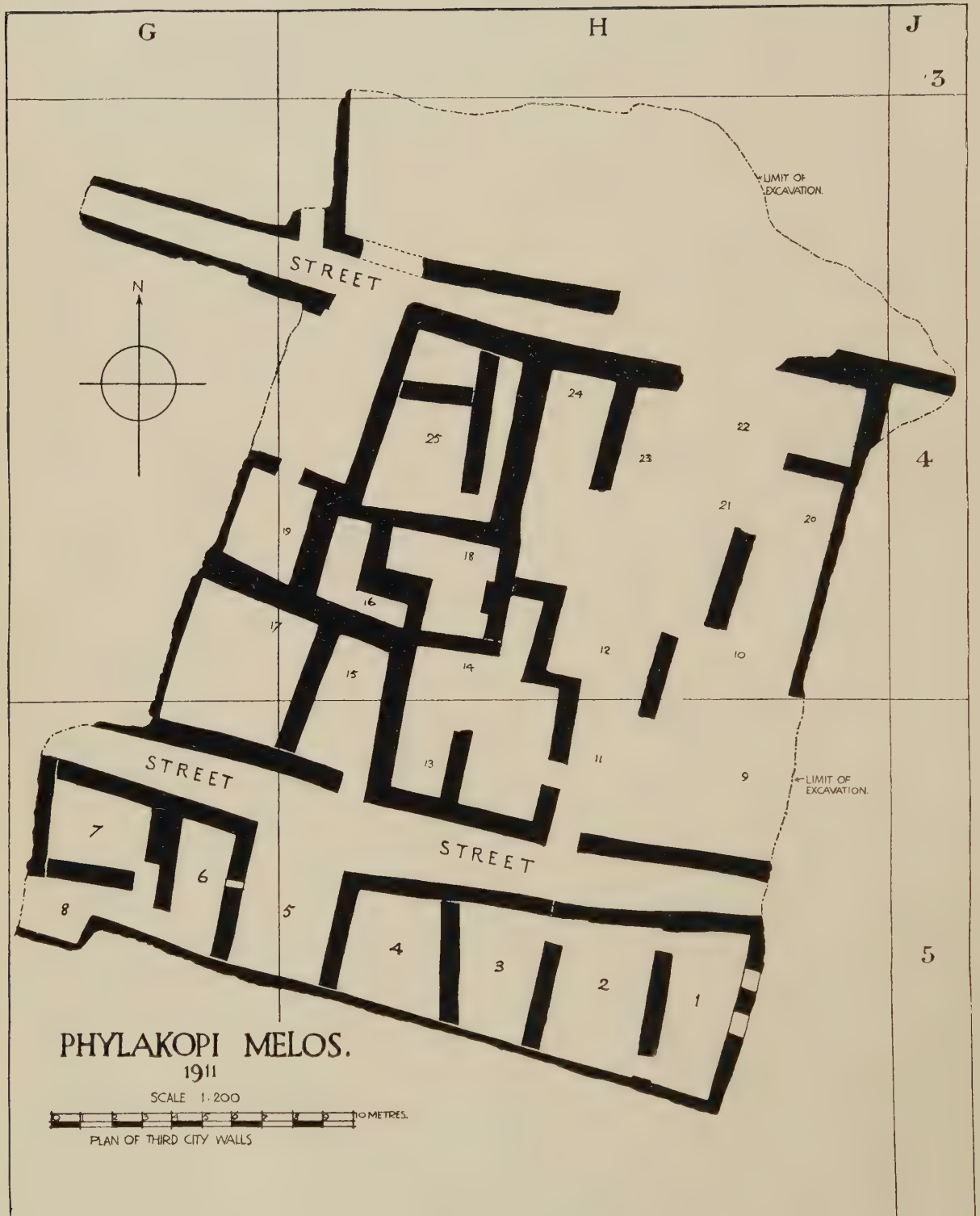
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MELOS: NATIVE WARE IMITATING CRETAN LATE MINOAN I. (SCALE 1: 2 Ca.)



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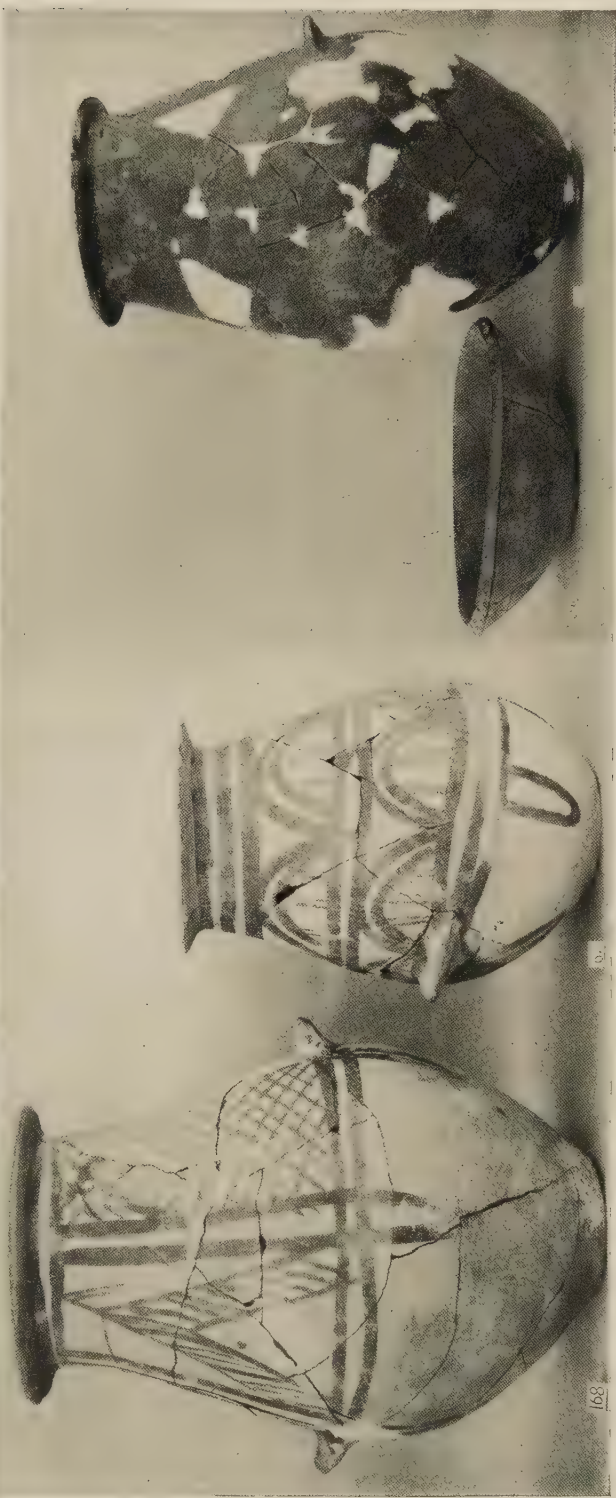
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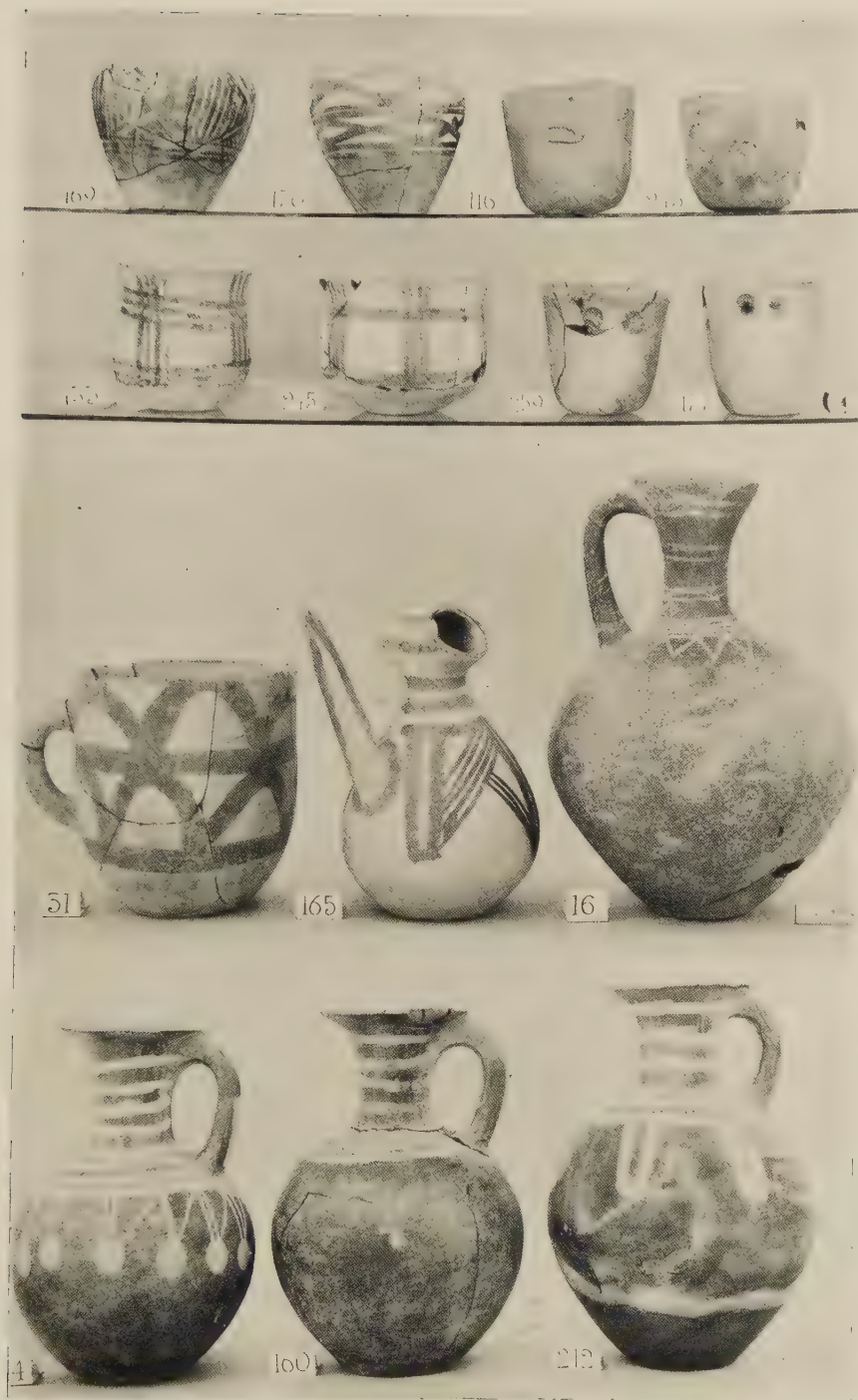
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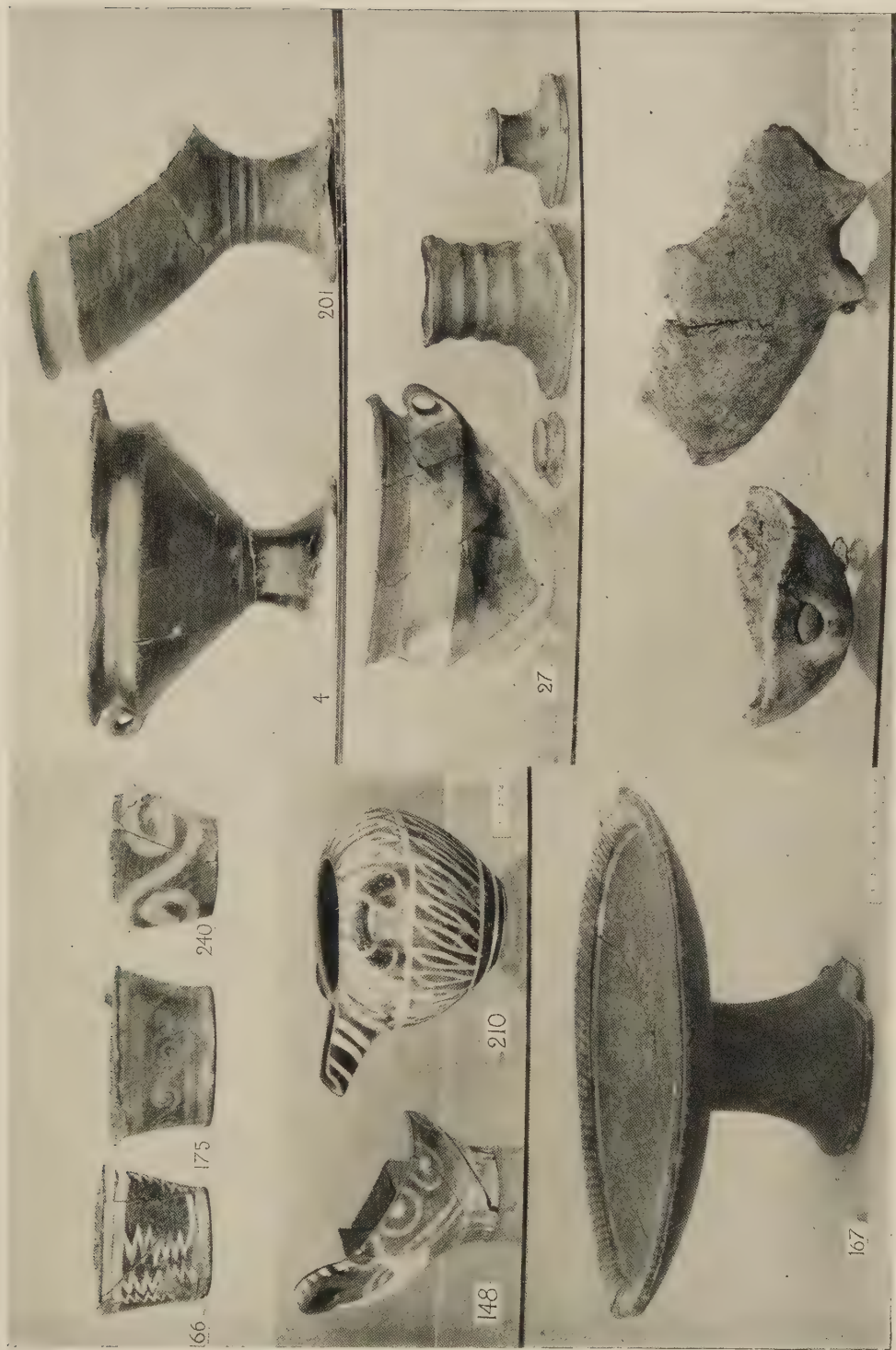
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PHYLAKOPI: BURIAL PYTHOI (Nos. 65, 255, and 256) AND GEOMETRIC VASES WITH LUSTROUS PAINT.
(SCALE 1 : 4; BUT NOS. 168, 65 = 1 : 6, AND NOS. 255, 256 = 1 : 10).



PHYLAKOPI: GEOMETRIC VASES, INCLUDING THOSE FROM PITHOS BURIALS. (SCALE 1 : 4).



PHYLAKOPI: MELIAN RED BURNISHED WARE WITH WHITE PAINT (Nos. 166, 175, 240, 167).
CRETAN KANARES VASE (No. 148) AND MELIAN IMITATION (No. 210).
MELIAN BURNISHED WARE IMITATING MINYAN SHAPES (Nos. 4, 201). MINYAN WARE (No. 27 AND FRAGMENTS).
BELOW: TWO CLAY CRUCIBLES. (SCALE 1:4.)



PHYLAKOPI: NATIVE VASES IMITATING CRETAN LATE MINOAN I. (SCALE *ca.* 1:4.)



PHYLAKOPI: NATIVE VASE IMITATING CRETAN LATE MINOAN I. (SCALE 1:4.)



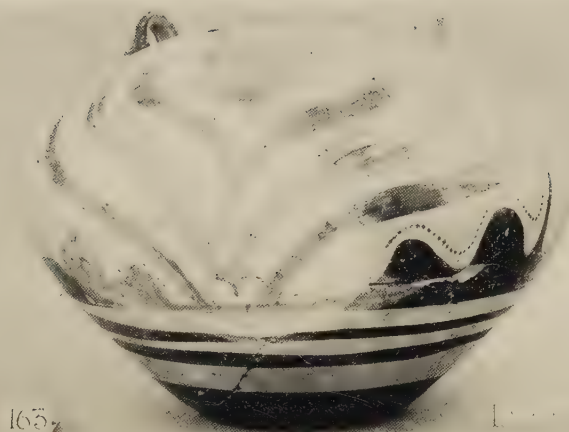
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LATER LOCAL VASES. (SCALE 1 : 4.)



PHYLAKOPI: IMPORTED CRETAN LATE MINOAN II V



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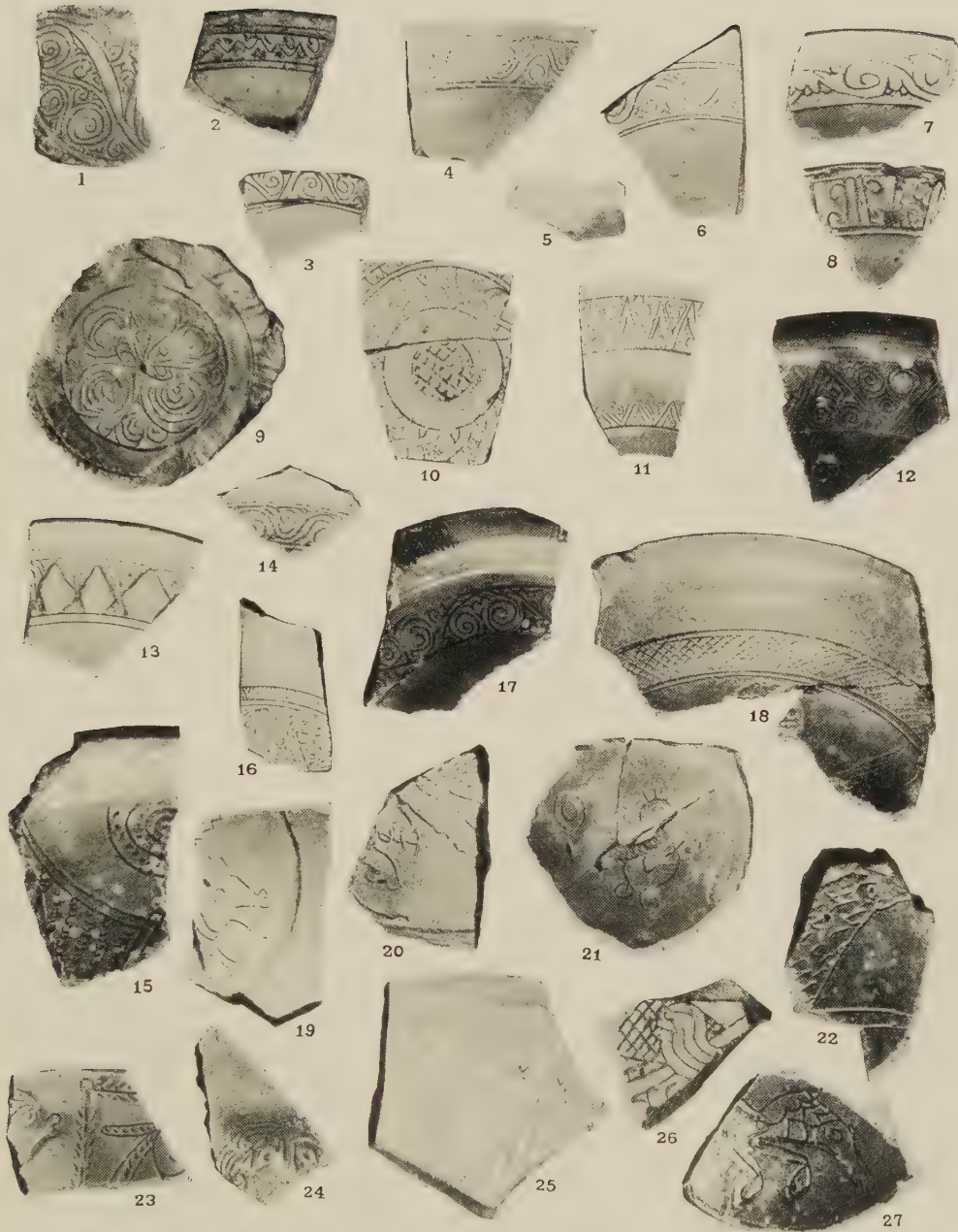
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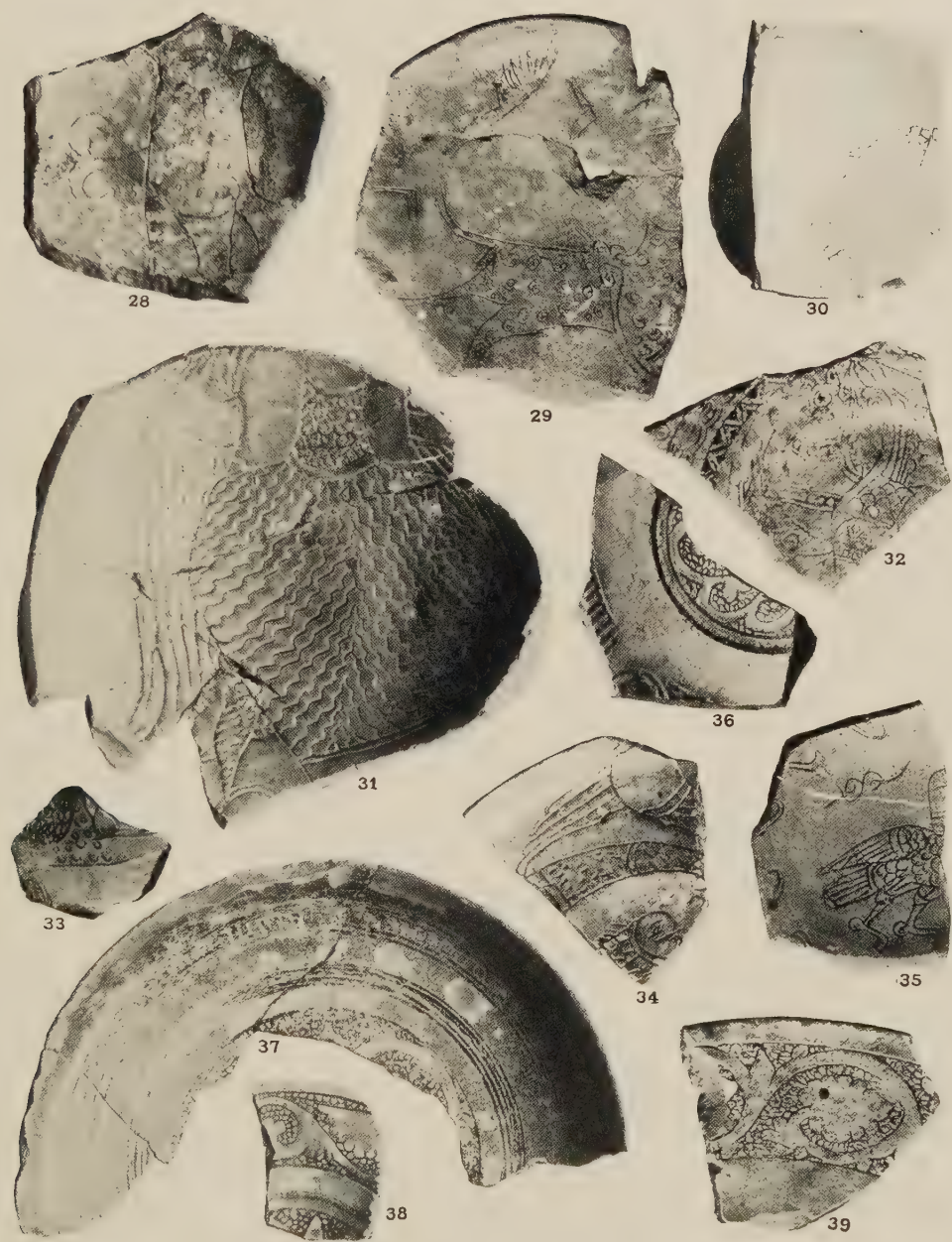
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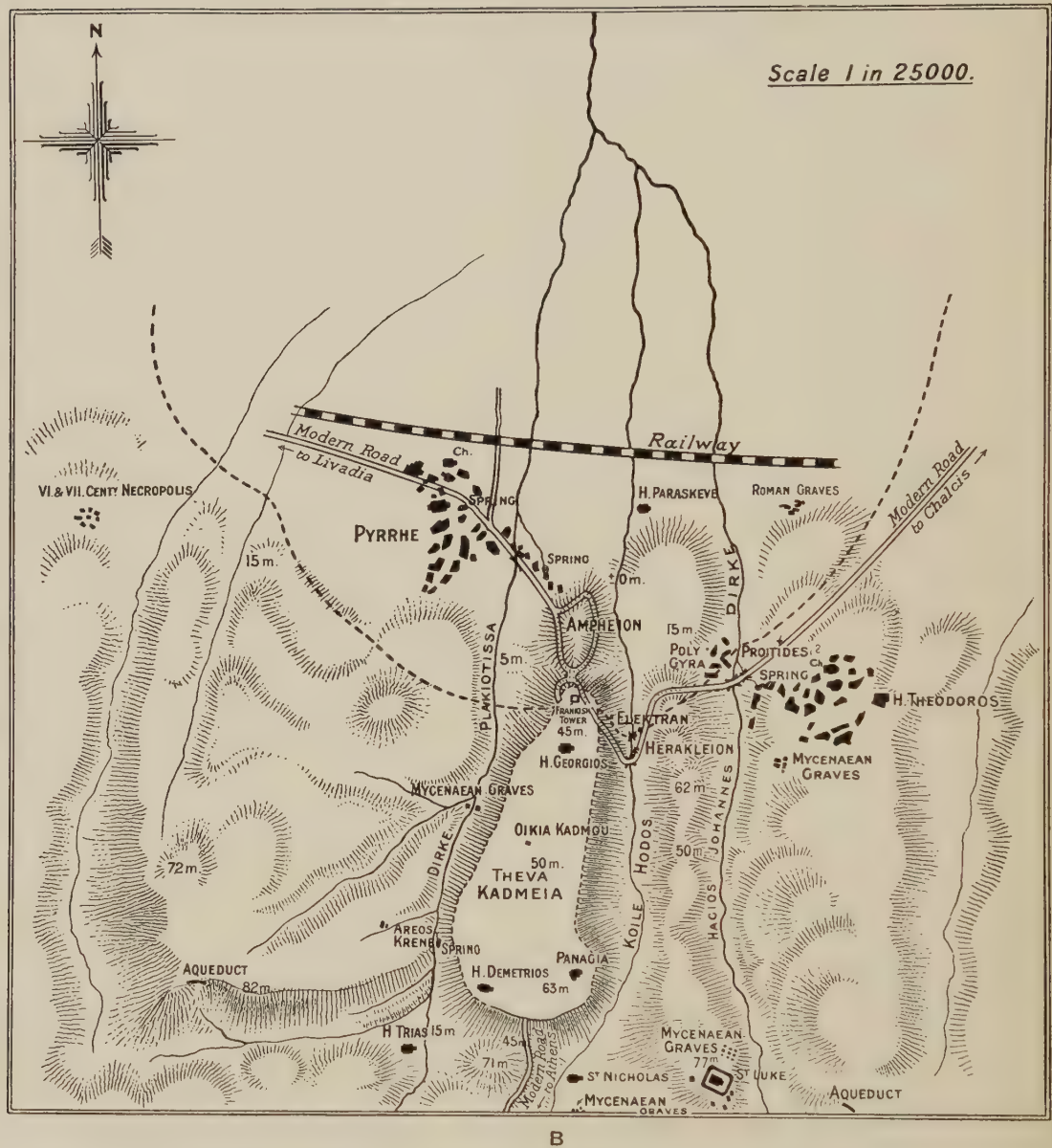


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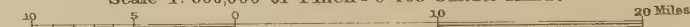


ASIA MINOR

THE TROAD

After Kiepert & Philippson
with corrections by
WALTER LEAF.

Scale 1: 600,000 or 1 inch = 9.468 Statute Miles.



Heights in feet.

Main roads Route Ancient names in red thus **Abydos**

NOTE

This map is taken principally from Philippson's "Topographische Karte des westlichen Kleinasien" (1:300,000), which is based upon Kiepert's "Karte von Kleinasien" (1:400,000). In the neighbourhood of Mount Ida, and in certain parts near the route Mr. Leaf has corrected the topography as hitherto represented, by prismatic compass bearings, photographs, and heights obtained by aneroid readings; but his mapping can only be considered as approximate.

A special note on the heights is given in the paper which this map accompanies.

